

IN THESE TIMES

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August 17-23, 1977

40 Cents

In California, France, New England, Oregon

Anti-nuclear movement gets carried away

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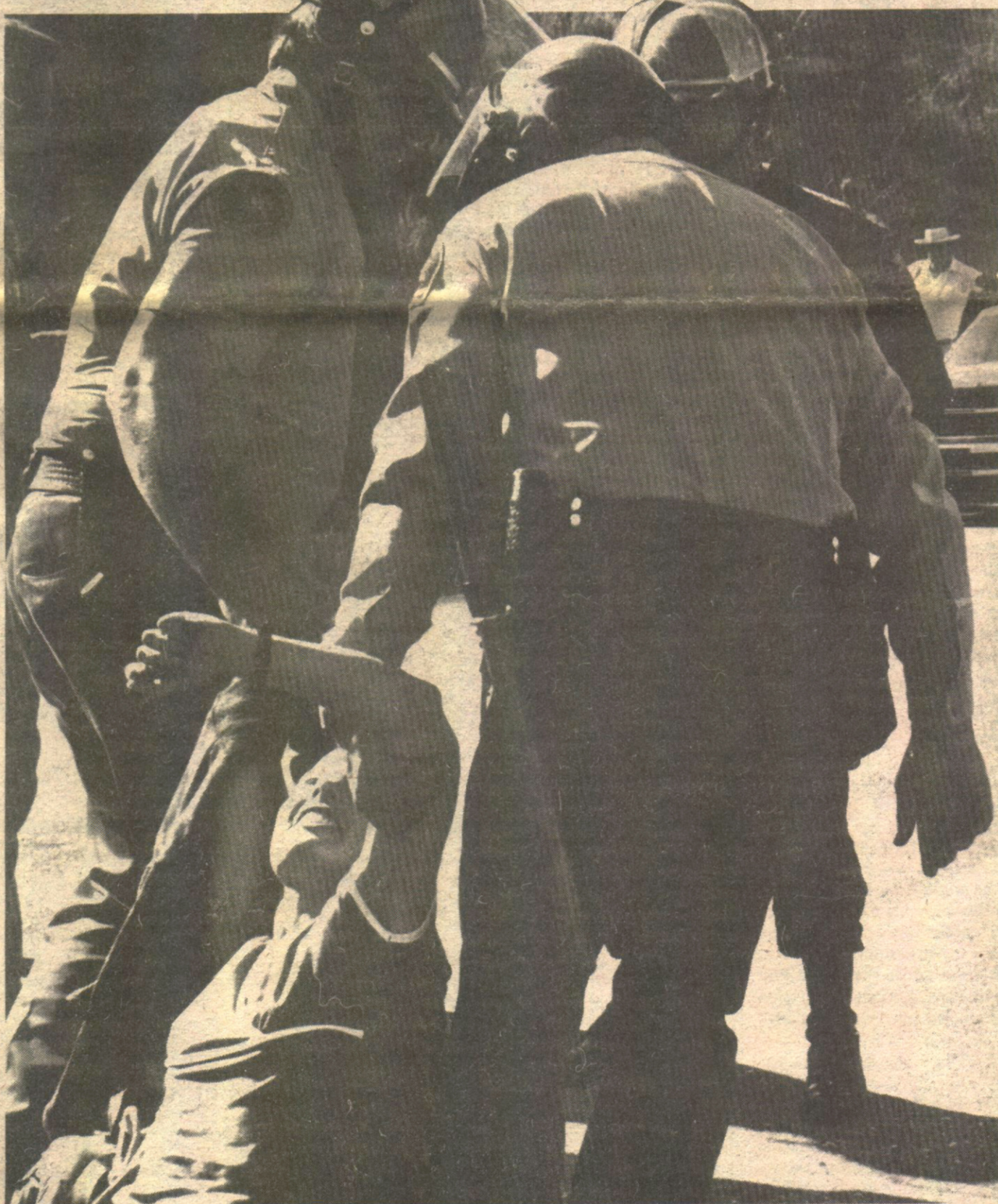


Photo by Jerry Helfand

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Back to the workhouses for America's poor

China has no welfare programs, nor did Charlemagne's Europe nor the America that Columbus discovered in 1492. Welfare, like unemployment, is peculiar to capitalism, and in the hands of a consummate politician like Jimmy Carter it can be very peculiar indeed.

The first state-administered welfare programs were in France and England during the 16th and 17th centuries, when the rise of capitalism created pockets of unemployment and unrest in the towns and countryside. The unemployed and unemployable were consigned to workhouses where they were given room and board in exchange for laboring under the worst possible conditions.

The workhouses served several useful functions. They kept the unemployed busy and out of trouble. They made the prospects of unemployment frightening to the employed, rendering them more docile for their employers. And they provided a super-cheap labor force for civic and private projects.

The U.S. also had its workhouses. There were still 600 in New England in 1884. But by the 1930s, when the federal welfare system was introduced, they had largely disappeared.

Last week, Jimmy Carter unveiled his welfare program. There were several pleasant surprises for the proponents of a more humane welfare system. There was a \$6.1 billion increase in welfare benefits. The working poor were now also to be eligible for benefits. And the \$4,200 federal grant to those unable to work would automatically raise welfare benefits in the South, where they were as low as \$840 a year in Mississippi.

But under the cover of some noble rhetoric about "jobs for all," Carter introduced a modern-day version of the workhouse. This he labeled his "work benefit" program.

Work benefits.

The present welfare system is divided into three separate programs—AFDC (Aid for dependent children), food stamps, and aid for the disabled. Jobs programs are separate altogether and come under the purview of the Labor department. Each of the programs has a separate administration and separate criteria for receiving benefits.

The system was created by amending and adding new components to the original 1930s legislation. The result was inconsistency and unnecessary administrative costs.

Carter's proposal would entirely restructure the welfare system and eliminate much of the administrative overhead. It would make any person or family with an

income below the poverty line eligible for welfare, regardless of whether they were single, fathers, or childless couples. This is an advance over the old system in which 23 states still would not give welfare to families where the father was present—a practice thought to encourage fatherless homes.

Those eligible for welfare would be divided into the unemployable and the employable. The unemployable, the disabled and mothers of children under seven, would receive \$4,200 a year from the federal government.

The employable would receive \$2,300 on the condition that they augment that with a job in private or public industry. They would have to spend five weeks looking for a job in private industry. If they didn't take one they were offered, they would lose their benefits. If they did get a job, they could have a total income of \$8,400 before losing their welfare benefits.

If no private jobs were available, they would have to take a public job, which would be provided under the old CETA program. But unlike the CETA jobs, these would be at the minimum wage, menial, and dead-end. Even if someone worked 40 hours at such a job, they would make, with their benefits, only \$6,956 a year. This is supposed to provide an extra incentive for welfare recipients to seek jobs in private industry.

Milwaukee's pay-for-work.

In fact, one need not go back to the 1880s to find antecedents for Carter's program. During the 1960s Mississippi had a "work experience" program in which welfare recipients were required without pay to haul gravel, wash dishes, and cut the grass for private businesses.

In California, Gov. Ronald Reagan tried unsuccessfully to assign welfare recipients to jobs at \$1.65 an hour. The program was discontinued under his successor. But the most interesting recent "workfare" experiment is Milwaukee, Wisconsin's "pay-for-work" plan.

The Milwaukee plan dates back to the New Deal. Employable welfare recipients are assigned to public jobs at a current wage of \$2 an hour. Kenneth Deal, the director of the program, described the welfare clients who come under the program as "the dregs of society."

"By the time they have come here," Deal told the *New York Times*, "they have reached rock bottom. We don't ask them if they care to work, we tell them they have to, or no aid."

Recently, the program has been the subject of complaints both from welfare clients and from the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, which represents many of Milwaukee's public employees. One client, 19 year old Marie Guyton, who works as a custodian at a community center, complained that civil service workers made twice as much as she did for doing the same amount of work. Guyton is paid \$220 a month.

The union claims that since the recession of the '70s, the city has been laying off public workers and replacing them with the pay-for-work people. James Robison of AFSCME's District Council told the *Times*: "Our people are being put out of work, while the pay-for-work people will still be there at \$2.00 an hour. They're easing program people in and our people out."

"It's involuntary servitude," he added. "They've got those people over a barrel."

Full employment without tears.

If Carter's program is passed by Congress, he will have most Americans, and not just those on welfare, over a barrel.

In his campaign, Carter promised full employment. But once he was president, Carter backed off. Genuine full employment—with all workers guaranteed a decent job at a living wage—would provide an overall security

for workers from which they could bargain up their wages and working conditions and threaten the profits of employers.

But Carter's "work benefits" scheme provides him with a way to achieve full employment without any risks to corporate profits. By drawing America's growing army of the permanently unemployed into a low-wage pool, he will be able to threaten instead of insure the wages and jobs of other workers.

Of all his programs so far, it is politically the most ingenious. On the surface it appeals to welfare proponents who have applauded the increase in benefits, uniform standards, and the chance for all to work. It appeals to welfare opponents who see welfare recipients as undeserving of aid: If they have to work for it, that's different. It is no surprise that the plan drew praise from Democrats and Republicans alike.

Poor remain poor.

It can be expected, however, that by the time the bill comes before Congress in early 1978, proponents of a humanitarian welfare policy and of genuine full employment will have seen through the Carter plan. Other details of the plan should also not be overlooked:

- The Carter plan bows to Senate Finance chairman Russell B. Long's wishes for a strict workfare plan. The bill has to get through the Finance Committee before it gets to the Senate floor, and Long will be able to sabotage any bill he doesn't like. Long wants all welfare recipients in the workhouse, and, in a compromise with Long, Carter added mothers with children over seven to the list of the employable rather than limiting the bill to mothers with children over 14.

- The Carter plan makes it more difficult in certain respects to get welfare. Whereas welfare eligibility used to be based on immediate income and assets, the new plan will base it on a "retrospective accounting" of an applicant's last six months income. If an applicant's six-month average falls over the welfare eligibility level, even if they are dead broke at the moment, they will be denied welfare.

- The proposal omits a cost-of-living escalator that would adjust welfare payments to rises in the cost of living. With inflation averaging 5 to 10 percent over the last decade, it can be expected that this will eat away at the level of federal welfare payments.

- It will give the unemployable an income of \$4,200 and grant the employable a top income of \$8,400 a year for a family of four. With private jobs scarce, the \$6,956 a year figure for a welfare recipient with a public job is more likely. Even if the states supplement this—and in many Southern states it is unlikely they will—the final figure will fall well below the \$11,600 given by the Bureau of Labor Statistics as a minimally acceptable living standard for a family of four living in the city.

Welfare insures that the poor don't starve, but also that they remain poor. Carter's program will be no exception. The rationale for this is that otherwise they will not have the incentives to get jobs. This assumes that it was lack of incentives rather than lack of jobs that put them on welfare in the first place.

But the real reason is that if people on welfare, whether employed or unemployed, made as much as people who have had to get their jobs out of the labor market, Americans would no longer fear losing their jobs and would be willing to take the risks necessary to improve them.

Welfare must therefore remain the realm of the poor and downtrodden, and those on welfare must be seen as the "dregs of the society."

Thanks to Jay Lipner of the Food Research and Action Center in Washington DC for his help in deciphering Carter's welfare plan.

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Anti-nuclear mussel

OREGON

By Norman Solomon
"I suppose we'll have a lot of 'John Does' and 'Jane Does,'" a district attorney told anti-nuclear lawyer Ed Jones a few days before the occupation of the Trojan nuclear power plant 40 miles northwest of Portland, Ore. "You don't understand," Jones replied. "These people are proud of what they're doing."

There were indeed no John Does and Jane Does when 82 occupiers at Trojan were arrested at dawn Aug. 8 in front of the 1,130-megawatt plant's four access gates, 38 hours into the occupation. And the sponsor of the action aimed at immediate permanent shutdown of the largest nuclear plant presently operating in the U.S., the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance, says larger occupations at Trojan are just around the corner.

In initiating the first mass occupation of an operating nuke in the U.S., Alliance activists have escalated the anti-nuclear struggle by challenging the continued operation of nuclear power plants.

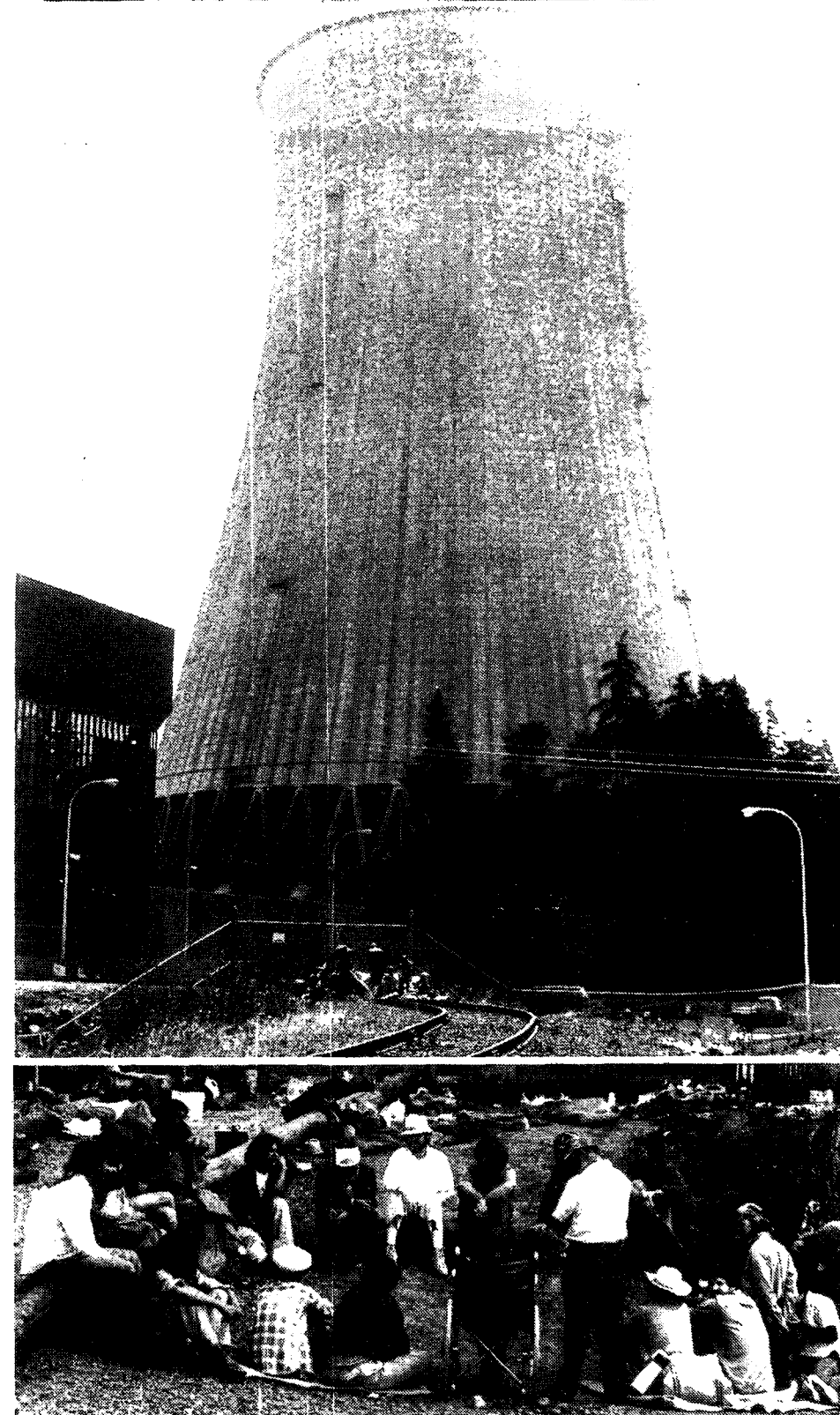
Demonstrations began Aug. 6—the 32nd anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima—with a shutdown Portland rally of 500 people. Action then shifted to the grounds at Trojan, primarily owned by Portland General Electric Co., a private utility that got Trojan on line in December 1975 as Oregon's first nuclear plant and is presently fighting to build two more in the state. An occupation support rally of 600 people was in full swing in front of the "Trojan Visitors Information Center" on-site when nearly 100 occupiers marched in from a staging two miles away and took up positions directly in front of Trojan's access gates shortly before 4 p.m.

Occupiers swiftly unpacked their camping gear, and settled in to make themselves comfortable. The main gate's sign stating "Private Property—No Trespassing" was quickly covered with one saying "The People's Property." Another gate sign announced: "No Nukes is Good Nukes." And the main gate's stop-sign gained the word "Nukes" spelled out with adhesive tape. Asked by a reporter how he was feeling about the demonstration, PGE public relations specialist Steve Loy replied: "It makes me twitch."

Occupiers had expected a bust by nightfall, but ended up spending two nights at the base of Trojan's 499-foot cooling tower. According to reports that later emerged from state and company officials, Oregon Gov. Robert Straub had told PGE to hold off on arresting the occupiers until Monday morning, despite PGE's eagerness to arrest demonstrators and open the gates Saturday night.

Well over 100 Oregon State Police were bunkered inside the plant throughout the action, assisted by company and National Guard helicopters shuttling into the plant sometimes at a rate of several times an hour. Meanwhile, occupiers discussed strategy in their affinity groups and at meetings, also finding time for yoga, square dancing in front of the main gate, conversations with the press, and workshops on nuclear power and corporate control of energy. The occupation's 14 groups were entirely composed of people who had been through advance non-violence training sessions provided by the Alliance, which made such prior training a requirement for participation in the civil disobedience.

At 5:10 a.m. Monday, a truck carrying floodlights rolled out from the plant's interior complex to the inside of the access gates. A PGE official used a loudspeaker to order occupiers to leave or face arrest for criminal trespassing. Occupiers responded by packing up their possessions and sitting in front of the gates, singing "We shall not be moved" and "We shall overcome." At dawn, state police opened the main gate and began dragging people away.



Top: A demonstrator being arrested at Diablo Canyon, Calif.
 Center and bottom: The Trojan nuclear plant and demonstrators.

Clamshell Alliance, Abalone Alliance and other groups continue their protests.

The non-violence and self-discipline of the occupiers obviously surprised officials and the media. The unity extended into jail, as 48 men and 34 women insisted that none of them would leave custody until they were all released together. With National Lawyers Guild attorneys acting as go-betweens, the unity stuck, and by 10 p.m. the occupiers were on their way back to Portland for a celebration.

Each arrested demonstrator pleaded "not guilty" and asked for a jury trial. There is general agreement among the occupiers that the trials will be another means of attacking nuclear power's deadly threat toward the survival of life. "We intend to put nuclear power on trial," says one of those arrested. Meanwhile, the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance continues to coordinate activities out of its offices at 215 SE 9th Ave. in Portland. As the momentum for future actions keeps building, it appears that the first occupation is not an end but a new beginning.

Norman Solomon, a writer in Portland, was one of the 82 demonstrators arrested Aug. 8.

CALIFORNIA

By Jerry Helfand
SAN LUIS OBISPO, CALIF.—On Sunday, Aug. 7, during the anniversary weekend of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima 32 years ago, 48 members of the "Abalone Alliance" were arrested in a Seabrook-like occupation of the site of a nearly finished nuclear reactor at Diablo Canyon near here.

The day before the Alliance had sponsored lawful mass rallies near the Diablo site and at the site of San Onofre reactors near San Clemente. The rallies, which drew a total of 3,000 people, protested the spread of nuclear weaponry and power, and were similar to rallies around the world in commemoration of the Hiroshima bombing.

The Abalone Alliance, a coalition of 45 organizations, includes peace, religious, consumer and environmental activists. Their occupation was a small scale version of the recent Seabrook, N.H., protest, where 2,000 demonstrators were jailed at the site of a proposed nuclear reactor.

The exercise in civil disobedience began Sunday morning when three protesters were arrested for swimming from a boat to the restricted beach surrounding the reactor.

Then, at 4 p.m., after having attended the nearby public rally, 45 protesters climbed a four-foot barbed wire fence surrounding the reactor. The occupiers, mostly local residents, moved from there along the plant's access road toward the plant site, some seven miles away. A horde of cameramen and reporters ringed the horizon like Indians about to assault a wagon train. The protesters sang "We Shall Overcome," "You are my Sunshine," and chanted "No Nukes!"

About a mile inside the fence 40 uniformed sheriff's deputies, in full riot gear, blocked the road, backed up by prison buses and squad cars. The protesters, who'd carried supplies for a three-day encampment, sat down on the road, ignoring police requests to disperse.

"I'm not guilty of anything," Tom Thompson, 37, a journalist from Los Angeles, said shortly before his arrest. "The operation of a nuclear plant is depriving future generations of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Ian McMillan, 71, a rancher from the eastern part of the country said, "I'm not a bit nervous. I am here in defense of my environment and civil rights as a native citizen of this country."

When the police told the group they were under arrest, some, particularly the elderly men and women, voluntarily walked to the waiting police buses. Others, like Meg Simmons, 28, an artist from San Francisco who was also jailed in the

Continued on page 4.

Mining bill stripped

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

A five year battle for tough federal controls over strip-mining ended in early August as President Carter signed into law a "disappointing" bill that requires that all mined land be returned to its approximate original contour.

"I am not completely satisfied.... I would have preferred a stricter strip-mining bill," Carter remarked in a Rose Garden ceremony that included some citizen activists but was not attended by those who had fought for more stringent regulations. The bill had been significantly weakened by strong industry opposition, two previous vetoes by President Ford and Congressional amendments.

The measure, which creates a federal reclamation office and sets environmental standards that all states must follow, was attacked as a "blatant travesty" by the Appalachian Coalition, a group of organizations active around the strip-mining issue. The coalition had urged Carter to veto the legislation.

"Many people in the region see the bill as selling out the Appalachian mountains," comments John Gaventa of Tennessee's Highlander Center. "It gives the impression to the nation that the problem is being dealt with and thus legitimates the country's rape of the region. It has ignored and watered down the clauses that would have offered real protection."

"In some states it will actually be weaker than existing standards," says Don Askins, director of the Appalachian Coalition.

Cutting off the mountain tops.

Appalachian activists are especially enraged over a provision that condones "mountaintop removal" as a legitimate strip-mining technique. This enables mine operators to reach entire seams of coal that lie about 80 feet below the summit. The alternative, cutting a ridge or "bench" around the side of the mountain, would permit companies to reach only part of the seam.

While chopping off the tops of mountains is not yet a common strip-mining practice, environmentalists contend that its widespread use would wreak havoc. Once a mountain is flattened it would provide a place for assembling a dragline, the huge stripping shovels ordinarily used in flat terrain, which could then sweep across adjacent territory.

"The potential for terrain modification is fearsome," explains Askins. "To carry out such an operation, streams in every mountain hollow would be affected. In addition to what the explosives, which are used on the rock layer above the coal seam, would do to water supplies. In shattering rock, the water table itself sinks."

Small operators can evade coverage. Another amendment, which will affect Ap-



"I'm not completely satisfied... I would have preferred a stricter strip-mining bill," Carter remarked. Environmentalists called the bill a "blatant travesty" and accused the Carter administration of having after-the-fact reservations.

palachia more than the Western coal fields, will permit coal companies to evade the new law for several years. It exempts small operators—those producing 100,000 tons or less per year—from compliance with the new standards for 18 months. Large companies are required to meet the standards within nine months.

Beth Spence of West Virginia's Tug Valley Recovery Center points out, however, that companies routinely create a new, independent company when they open a new strip mine. By going out of business and changing their names, the same management, using the same personnel, can circumvent state strip-mining laws that remove permits when companies fail to reclaim mined land. This practice will now be used to evade the federal regulations, she explains.

Appalachia will especially suffer from this exemption, observers say, since the vast majority of its mining operations are handled by "small companies." About 92 percent of the strip-miners in Kentucky, for example, fall into this category.

In contrast to an earlier version, the law does not cover the strip mining of metal. Universal coverage was dropped, according to the *Congressional Quarterly*, when

"it became clear that opposition from copper and other mining interests plus coal companies probably would have permanently doomed any legislation."

Carter: too little, too late.

Although President Carter recognized the bill's drawbacks, environmentalists complain that his administration did little to block weakening amendments.

"The Carter administration, though their hearts seemed to be in the right place, came out awfully late and didn't give us much help in getting a strong law through," says Askins.

"In the past, the opposition clearly realized that Nixon or Ford would veto it, so they didn't have to water it down so much," adds John Gaventa. "This was the first time there was a reality that it might go all the way through, so they pushed much harder. The Carter administration failed to strongly oppose the watered-down version. His reservations about the bill were an after-the-fact acknowledgment."

Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus has pledged that his department will be "tough but fair" in enforcing the new law. The strength of this commitment will

be tested by the administration's choice to head the Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement (OSMRE).

The *Louisville Courier Journal* reported last week that Frank Harscher, an assistant to Kentucky governor Julian Carroll, had lost his campaign to administer the agency. Environmental groups objected to his appointment because of inexperience in the reclamation field and his close political ties to Carroll, who lobbied to weaken some provisions of the bill.

Carter's choice for the job is expected to be Walter Heine, a Pennsylvania official for 20 years who heads the state's strip-mining control program. Heine is considered "too militant" by many in the coal industry, but has the strong support of environmental groups.

The law's enforcement will have a wide-ranging impact on the daily lives of Appalachian residents and on Carter's emphasis on increased coal production to serve the country's energy needs. Coal strip-mining disturbs 1000 acres of land each week, a Senate committee concluded earlier this year, already affecting four million acres. In 1976 strip-mining also accounted for 56 percent of total coal production, up from 44 percent in 1970. ■

No Nukes

Continued from page 3.

Seabrook occupation, had to be dragged off. Police were polite and calm throughout the incident.

The 45 were taken to the county jail where they were expected to be charged with two counts of trespassing and one of unlawful assembly, according to Sheriff George Whiting.

Earlier, Daniel Ellsberg, famous as the man who leaked the *Pentagon Papers* to the press, praised the occupiers as he spoke at the public rally. "I want to thank you for what you're doing," he said.

Pointing to the sign carried by one of a handful of counter demonstrators, "Nuclear is Natural," Ellsberg said, "Death is natural, but mass murder is not natural. Poisons are natural, but plutonium does not exist unless man makes it exist at Mt. Diablo and San Onofre and other places...

The lawbreaking has been done by the Nuclear Regulatory Agency by ignoring its responsibilities. We will not go quietly into the death camp they are making of this globe."

Environmentalist Barry Commoner told the spirited crowds at both Saturday's and Sunday's rallies that nuclear weapons should be banned, and that nuclear power plants are unsafe (particularly these two plants, which are built near massive earthquake faults), uneconomical (except that they'll provide huge profits for big corporations), and are directly linked to the production of nuclear arms.

"Why are we here?" Commoner asked the 1,500-strong crowd at San Clemente. "This is a time to remember the enormous destructive power of modern science." Gesturing at the plant a scant hundred yards away, he said, "This is the start of a campaign to put the resources of this country to serving the people instead of profits."

Jerry Helfand is a freelance writer in Southern California.

NEW ENGLAND

A series of demonstrations took place throughout New England the weekend of Aug. 6 and 7 commemorating the 32nd anniversary of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the close of World War II and protesting the continued development of nuclear power and military weapons systems.

In Seabrook, N.H., where more than 1,400 people were arrested earlier this summer on the site of a proposed nuclear plant, the Clamshell Alliance conducted a peaceful rally in opposition to the continued building of the nuclear plant. Then on Monday, Aug. 8, four persons were arrested for attempting to plant trees on the site.

In Vermont, about 60 anti-nuclear activists released balloons—which would drift in much the same patterns as nuclear fall-

out were there to be an explosion at a nuclear plant—and kicked off a week of anti-nuclear activities.

In Groton, Conn., eight anti-nuclear demonstrators were arrested in two separate acts of non-violent civil disobedience Aug. 6 at the General Dynamics-Electric Boat Division shipyard. The shipyard is producing the navy's new nuclear missile-firing Trident submarine.

In one action two activists slipped past shipyard security to scale a 100-foot water tower on which they painted the slogan "Thou shalt not kill." They also released a banner reading "No more Hiroshimas or Nagasakis." It took more than three hours for the shipyard security force to remove the two activists.

The shipyard quickly painted over the slogan and removed the banner, carefully keeping the press out of range.

Earlier, more than 100 people had gathered at the site of the Millstone I and II nuclear power plants in Waterford, Conn., to release balloons and rally in opposition to nuclear power.

PUERTO RICO

Self-determination to come before UN

17 different Puerto Rican independence groups will make a joint statement when the UN's Decolonization Committee meets.

By Cam Duncan

SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO—From Aug. 15 to 17 Puerto Rico will be in the spotlight of world attention at the United Nations. The UN Decolonization Committee will discuss a resolution to reaffirm the right of the Puerto Rican people to independence and self-determination, and to call for the U.S. to recognize this right and leave the island. The outcome of this year's deliberations are important because of the recent shifts in U.S. policy for Puerto Rico.

In 1975 a vote on a similar resolution was postponed on the grounds that time for further investigation was required after Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and other American officials warned representatives of several nations on the committee that a vote backing the resolution would be considered an "unfriendly act"—implying Washington would retaliate by withholding economic aid.

Last August, the committee decided to update its last report on Puerto Rico made in 1974 and to confirm its previous resolutions supporting Puerto Rican self-determination, while postponing further action. The decision to put off the question again was made by "a consensus" of the committee and thus avoided a potential embarrassment for Washington during an election year.

New opportunity.

Independence forces believe that this year a resolution that will be submitted by Cuba might pass. It will probably include the following points:

- Call for a reaffirmation of UN Resolution 1514's application to Puerto Rico.
- Condemn U.S. annexationist plans.
- Call for an injunction against any further exploitation of Puerto Rico's natural resources by U.S. corporations.
- Ask for a UN investigating team to be sent to Puerto Rico.
- Reinstate Puerto Rico on the UN list of non-self-governing territories from which it was removed in 1953.

In past years, the Puerto Rican independence movement has been represented at the UN primarily by the Puerto Rican Independence party (PIP) and the Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP). This year, for the first time, 17 different pro-independence parties and organizations in Puerto Rico will make a joint statement to the committee in favor of the resolution, under the leadership of the Puerto Rican Peace Council. The Puerto Rican Bar Association will also submit a decolonization proposal. And in a new development, the Puerto Rican Americans for Democratic Action and several well-known individuals associated with the leadership of both the pro-statehood New Progressive party (NPP) and the pro-commonwealth Popular Democratic party (PDP) have indicated that they will also petition to testify.

While those associated with the PDP and PNP will not participate with the official sanction of their parties, it is significant that they are breaking with standing policy. This will strengthen the independence movement since their participation will be an implicit call for UN intervention.

Also for the first time this year, a broad coalition of organizations will go before the committee as a united North American



JULY 4, 1976: Despite downpour 40,000 demonstrate in Philadelphia for Puerto Rican independence.

peoples delegation. The delegation will be led by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee and will visit embassies and meet with independence forces.

The U.S. has issued a memo, signed by James Leonard, alternate to U.S. ambassador to the UN Andrew Young, on the UN discussion of Puerto Rico. The memo reiterates the long-standing American position—self-determination has been achieved, but the Puerto Rican people's right to self-determination is reaffirmed. It concludes that UN concern with Puerto Rico is inappropriate. But the memo does reveal a subtle change in the American attitude toward the issue. One need only compare Daniel Moynihan's bombastic ravings to this mild-mannered criticism.

The possibility for the Puerto Rican people, through the UN, to link their struggle for independence to the worldwide anti-colonial wave opened up in 1960 with the UN Declaration for the Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples (Resolution 1514). By this resolution, the UN broadened the scope of its action on colonialism to include "all territories that have not yet attained independence," a clear reference to Puerto Rico. Furthermore, the resolution established independence as a prerequisite for self-determination.

UN debate on Puerto Rico reemerged in 1972 and 1973, initiated by the PSP and the PIP. The U.S. tried to have sections about Puerto Rico dropped from the 1973 Decolonization Committee report, arguing that Puerto Rico's status had been outside UN jurisdiction since 1953. But the General Assembly ratified the report in its full version by an overwhelming vote—104-5 with 19 abstentions.

Puerto Rican independence activists believe that letters and telegrams to the UN Decolonization Committee, urging support for Puerto Rican self-determination, could have an important effect on the discussion. For more information contact the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 319, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10003, telephone (212) 673-0540 or 673-5257.

Cam Duncan is a freelance journalist in St. Just, Puerto Rico.

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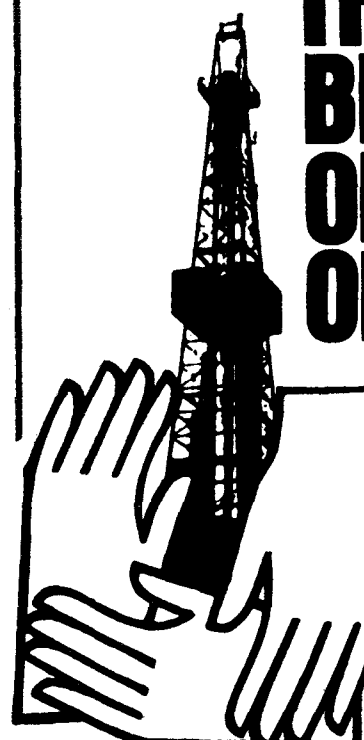
—Robert Lekachman, *The New York Review of Books*

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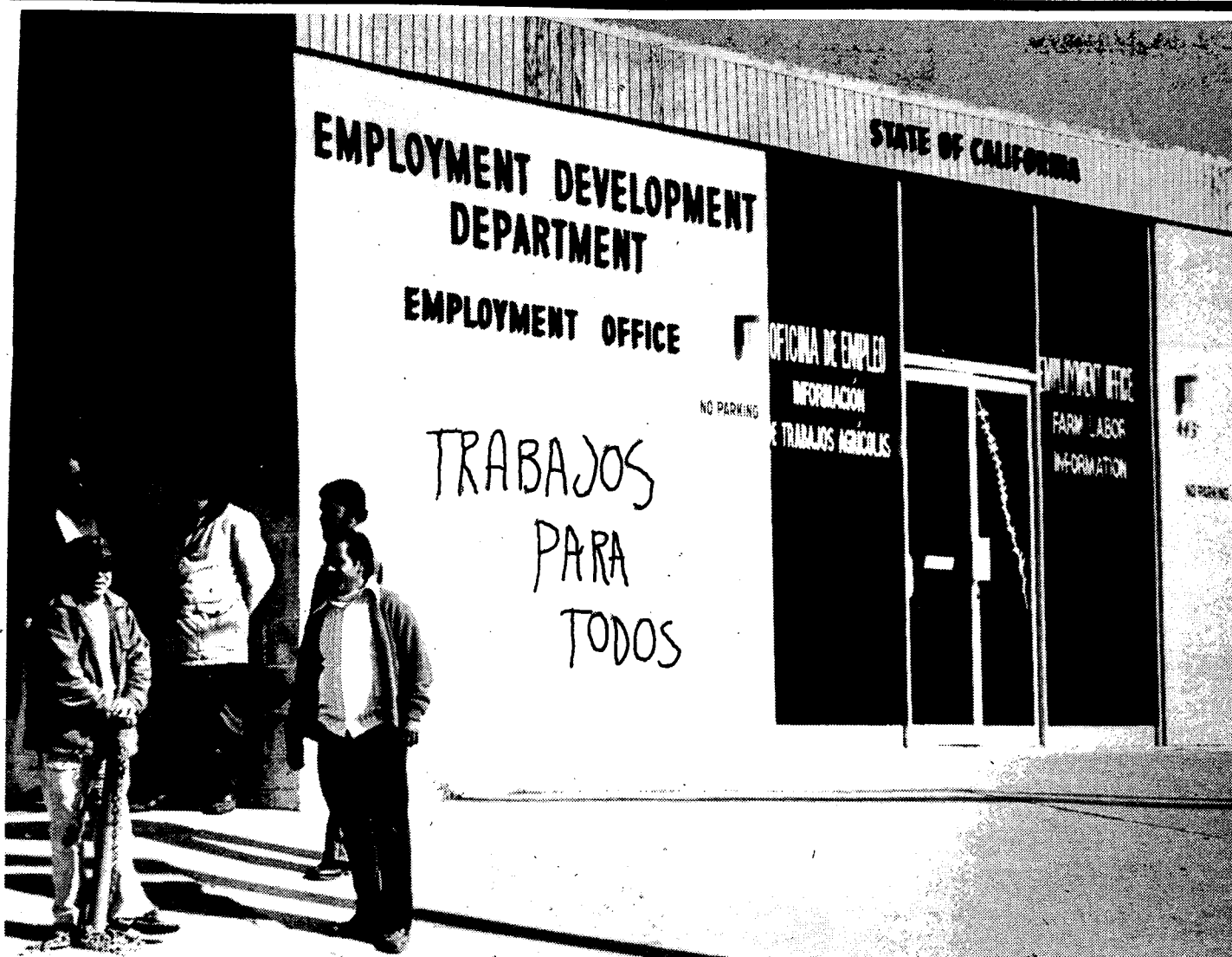
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Illegal immigrants: good for business and no drain on the welfare system

By Martin Brown
Pacific News Service

Manuel Rojas strolled down to his local tavern in San Francisco's Mission district the other night to celebrate his new quasi-legal status. As a "temporary alien," Rojas (not his real name) may soon be legally entitled to remain in the U.S. for at least five more years and—more important—to seek work in the above-ground labor market.

"Of course," said Rojas, lifting a glass of beer, "this is a great relief."

Yet Rojas, who slipped across the U.S.-Mexican border in 1973—and has been back and forth a half-dozen times since—also had qualms. What would happen to him at the end of five years? Will he again be subject to deportation, or will he be given a permanent alien status? No one knows.

And, though he will be required to pay regular payroll taxes while employed, he will not be entitled to any of the social services those taxes pay for, such as Medicaid, food stamps or federal welfare.

In the end, Rojas, and millions of others like him, may well conclude that the administration's "solution" to illegal aliens is a very mixed blessing, offering no fundamental change but rather a veneer of legality over a still troublesome situation.

In the economic structure.

The reason it will remain troubling, according to a number of respected economists who specialize in immigrant labor, is that the "alien problem" lies deep in the structure of the American economy, which makes it profitable for certain businesses to utilize illegal workers.

The immigrants themselves are mere symptoms of the problem.

In fact, many economists agree that illegal immigrant labor has been good for American business, particularly the so-called "secondary labor market," that section of the economy that provides low-paying, non-union employment, generally with sub-standard working conditions and little job security.

And, they also agree, the widely held notion that illegal aliens are "indigent" and a drain on the American welfare system has little validity.

Economist David S. North, with cooperation of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), recently interviewed 793 illegal aliens who had been picked up by the INS in major American cities.

He found they had worked in the U.S. an average of two and a half years, that 77 percent had paid Social Security taxes and 73 percent had paid federal income taxes. Nearly half had also paid for hospitalization insurance.

In contrast, only 27 percent had used public hospitals or clinics and less than 4 percent had collected one or more weeks of unemployment insurance. Only about 4 percent had children in American schools, only 2 percent had secured food stamps and less than one percent had received welfare payments.

North concluded that illegal alien workers actually contribute more to the public welfare system than they take out of it.

He also found that most of the illegal workers he interviewed had worked in "low-wage, low-skill, low-status jobs;" 24 percent had been paid below the minimum wage.

Their employers, he found, felt that illegal alien workers were more productive than domestic workers, and that they were necessary to maintain or increase profits in small, labor-intensive, highly competitive firms.

Always immigrants.

The main problem with illegal or undocumented workers, concluded North, is that they make it more difficult for low-skilled domestic workers to find decent paying jobs or to improve wages and working conditions in the non-unionized secondary labor market.

Economist Michael Piore of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology agrees with North's findings. He also argues that any policy designed to attack the symptom—illegal aliens—rather than the cause of the problem—the structure of the labor market—could make matters worse, not better, for all disadvantaged workers.

Piore, who has studied the secondary labor market in Boston, notes that fundamental changes began occurring in the late '60s.

In the mid-'60s, he points out, the majority of workers in the low-paid, non-unionized market were older immigrants and native workers, notably blacks from the urban ghettos. But by the late '60s, "these workers reportedly became a good deal more difficult to manage. Clashes between employees and supervisors and among employees themselves became more frequent," partly as a result of the generally prosperous economy and rising worker expectations.

But rather than improve the wages and working conditions, Boston secondary employers began to recruit a wave of immigrant workers, legal and illegal, from Puerto Rico, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Mexico and other Latin American countries. By 1975 illegal aliens constituted almost three-fourths of the minority labor force.

When Piore asked a Boston textile manufacturer what he would do if "immigrants were no longer available," he was told: "There will always be immigrants to work for us. First there were Italians, and French Canadians, later there were blacks from the South. Now we have Puerto Ricans."

Piore worries that a "crackdown" on illegal immigration, promised by Carter, will only drive the secondary labor market further "underground."

MIT political scientist Wayne Cornelius suggests another reason why such a crackdown may fail.

"The pressures [to migrate to the U.S. from Mexico] are so intense...that most Mexican illegals are not likely to be deterred, even by the most draconian restrictive measures," he says.

The awareness that structural changes in the American economy may be the only real answer to the "illegal alien crisis" has led some American labor leaders to change their views on how to deal with the situation.

Union organization of the secondary labor market, they believe, would at once improve wages and working conditions, and at the same time restrict employers from seeking cheap labor from an illegal work force.

Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers union, which once blamed illegals for sanitation problems, crime and low farmworker wages, is now actively recruiting illegal aliens into its membership.

At the same time, the AFL-CIO is campaigning for reform of the National Labor Relations Act in a way that would cut the red tape and cost of union organizing. This would presumably make it easier to organize the thousands of small work places that make up the secondary labor market.

Until such fundamental changes occur, both here and in the underdeveloped countries that provide the aliens, the tide of foreign workers, both legal and illegal, is likely to continue to swell.

Martin Brown is an agricultural economist at the University of California, Berkeley.

Carter's plan is full of loopholes

By Judy MacLean
Staff Writer

"This is a false amnesty plan, not satisfactory at all," says Steve Hollopeter, Legal Office Coordinator for CASA (General Brotherhood of Workers) about Carter's proposals to Congress for dealing with illegal and undocumented workers.

The Carter administration is proposing to grant permanent resident alien status to illegal immigrants who've been in the U.S. since before Jan. 1, 1970. After five years, they would be eligible for American citizenship.

The administration also recommends that those who arrived in the U.S. between Jan. 1, 1970, and Jan. 1, 1977, be given temporary resident alien status for five years. What would then happen is unclear; Attorney General Griffin Bell says it would in part depend on what the registration process shows in terms of numbers.

Those arriving after Jan. 1 of this year would be deported.

Beefed up border patrols, especially along the Mexican border, and civil fines of \$1,000 per undocumented worker for employers who hire illegal immigrants are expected to stem the flow of an estimated 500,000 persons per year across U.S. borders.

No one knows how many people live and work illegally in the U.S. Estimates run from six to 12 million, with two to four million employed. Mexicans are thought to be a third to three-fourths of the "illegals," although they make up 95 percent of all deportees.

"We're clearly opposed to the proposals. We're advising people not to register with the Immigration and Naturalization Service. It may be a way to get all the names and addresses and then deport them all," says Isa Infante, coordinator of the National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers' Guild.

"Many, many people will have no way to document that they've been here," says Infante. The proposal calls for rent receipts, utility bill stubs and social security cards as proof; illegal residents may not have them in their own names or may not have saved such papers since before 1970.

Carter says his proposals are necessary "to avoid having a permanent 'underclass' of millions of persons who have not been and cannot practically be deported and who would continue living here in perpetual fear of immigration authorities, the local police, employers and neighbors."

"His proposals will institutionalize the underclass," counters Gilbert Reza, author and staff assistant to Rep. Jerry Patterson (D-CA). "He will create a group of poverty-stricken individuals who no longer have to remain hidden, but who won't have rights guaranteed to other American workers. They still won't qualify for Medicaid, welfare or food stamps, even though they'll pay all taxes. It's questionable if they'll be eligible for unemployment compensation or be able to unionize."

The proposal calls for all employers to pay resident aliens the minimum wage, but Reza says it is "full of loopholes."

The employer sanctions, weaker than in earlier versions of the proposal, will be largely unenforceable, Hollopeter predicts.

Other sources fear stepped-up efforts to deport those arriving after Jan. 1, 1977, will lead to increased job discrimination against Latinos and increased harassment for all suspected foreigners. "Anyone who even looks Latino will be subject to being stopped anywhere," says Isa Infante.

Carter has won over some conservative foes by softening employer sanctions, but final adoption of his proposals is by no means certain. Hearings will be held at the year's end, and alternate measures will be introduced. One, by Rep. Jerry Patterson, will call for amnesty for all who entered before Jan. 1, 1975, and stiff penalties for employers who hire undocumented workers or who discriminate against Latinos.

LABOR

New priority for job security

By Paul Rosenstiel
Stung by massive layoffs during the recent recession, many labor unions are now making protection against future job losses a much higher priority in contract negotiations.

Already the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the United Steelworkers (USW) have had some success in creating more jobs and winning increased financial security.

The issue also came up in negotiations between the Communications Workers and the phone company over their new contract, now awaiting ratification by union members, who have faced more than 130,000 layoffs in the last three years. CWA president Glenn Watts said before the negotiations began that the union was out to "win the kind of job security they haven't had in the past." The new contract, according to Watts, contains some "breakthrough agreements," equalling or exceeding provisions in the auto and steel contracts.

The issue of job security is expected to arise in a variety of other industries, such as aerospace, in the near future.

Despite the fanfare from union leaders, however, settlements that have increased job and income security have contained little that is radically new to collective bargaining. Most provisions have come as expansions of already existing programs, including paid holidays and vacations, retirement programs and supplements to unemployment insurance.

Consequently, these improvements are far from representing true "lifetime security." More accurately, they are only improvements in the area of paid time off and short-term income protection—areas in which unions have made steady advances since World War II.

American workers 30 years ago had six paid holidays and few got more than two weeks paid vacation a year. Today major contracts provide an average of over nine paid holidays and, in 90 percent of them, senior workers have at least four weeks of vacation.

In the 1950s both the UAW and USW negotiated a supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB) program that obligates companies to help support laid off workers for a limited period of time.

A new importance.

What is different today is that for many unions these issues have assumed greater importance than their traditional number one concern—wages—and a recent variation on that theme—cost of living escalators.

"If you haven't got job security, an escalator clause in an inflation doesn't mean a hell of a lot," explains AFL-CIO economist John Zalusky.

The steel and auto settlements take fundamentally different approaches to the problem. The UAW pact, negotiated last year, increases the number of paid holidays. This, it is hoped, will require the companies to hire more workers.

Zalusky believes it will indeed do this, although "for every person taking a day off on a floating day you're not going to hire a new person."

Cass Alvin, USW spokesman for the western states, isn't that confident. Floating holidays are "absorbed by the whole set-up," he says, adding that to create jobs workers must be removed from work for a longer period of time. The 1962 steel settlement, he explains, created jobs with the innovative "sabbatical" program that gives the senior half of the workforce a 13-week vacation every five years.

But job creation proved to be an elusive goal in the contract the USW signed with the nation's ten major steel companies in April and with the aluminum industry in May. While outgoing USW president I.W. Abel emphasized his union wanted jobs not just income, Alvin says the truth is that "we cannot do as much about creating jobs through collective bargaining as we can about income guarantees."



While unions have had little success in winning real job security for their members so far, some unions have won a modicum of income security, fashioning a package that provides some cushion for hard times.

Despite the fanfare from union leaders, settlements that have increased job and income security have contained little that is radically new to collective bargaining.

Labor's efforts at job creation must instead take the form of pressing for enactment of the Humphrey/Hawkins full employment bill and laws to create public service jobs, he explains.

Creating a security package.

But the union can win financial security at the bargaining table, according to Alvin. To that end the USW seeks to fashion from existing contract and government programs—such as supplemental unemployment benefits, unemployment insurance, medical insurance, workers' compensation, etc.—a package "so that regardless of why a person is unemployed we could assure him" of income.

The USW contracts contain a number of new elements in this direction, although what income guarantees they contain apply primarily to workers with at least 20 years seniority—the very workers for whom job security is already the greatest through the seniority system. Beyond that many income guarantee provisions are only temporary; they aren't lifetime security.

Under the steel contract, for example, the SUB program covers workers with 20 years seniority for two years instead of the previous one year. (The aluminum pact goes further, guaranteeing 18 months of SUB to workers with 10-20 years seniority.) Workers transferred to other jobs will get at least 90 percent of their previous pay, plus relocation expenses if necessary. And the new "rule of 65" allows workers with 20 years seniority to retire if they've been laid off two years, they're disabled or the plant they work at closes down. And until they become eligible for social security benefits (or until they get another job) their pension will be sweetened by \$300 a month.

Besides providing financial security, Zalusky contends the "rule of 65" will also help preserve jobs. It will "raise the price to the employer of eliminating jobs," he

says, and companies will think twice before they shut down a plant.

Business opposition.

Yet despite these advances by the auto and steel unions, both will admit they are far from winning true lifetime job and income security. What's standing in their way is stiff employer opposition.

Business has argued loudly that it can't afford lifetime security or job sharing programs. Before the auto industry negotiations began, General Motors chairman Thomas Murphy warned that "less work not balanced by increased productivity really means more cost." This, according to the industry argument, means higher prices and a loss of jobs as American goods become less competitive in the world market.

In response the AFL-CIO's Zalusky says, "We've heard those arguments from year one," but in fact American industry has grown and thrived all the while that working time has declined and workers' pay has increased.

Relaxing work rules.

Nonetheless, business is firmly committed to giving workers extensive lifetime security only in exchange for a relaxation of work rules that can increase productivity. Steel industry negotiators made that point repeatedly in this year's negotiations. But unions balk at that trade.

"There'd have to be a lot of frosting on the cake" before the USW would agree to loosen work rules, says Alvin. The USW fought a 116-day strike over that issue in 1959 and it remains a significant issue today. In the union's presidential election in February, Ed Sadlowski won 43 percent of the vote on a platform that featured, among other things, criticism of the union's leadership for insufficient concern over work rules.

Some unions have made that trade, but they've done so only in the face of a mas-

sive threat to their jobs. And in the end the unions have usually come out on the poorer end of the deal.

In 1960, for example, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) negotiated a guaranteed wage for its members—whether or not they work—when the advent of containerized cargo threatened to put many dock workers out of a job.

In return the union loosened its control over work rules and agreed not to register new longshoremen as old ones retire, thus guaranteeing the steady erosion of its ranks. As a result the shippers' tonnage increased a third while hours worked remained the same and, according to government and industry estimates, the companies saved \$90 million over the costs of the program in its first five and a half years.

Since then rank and file discontent with the plan has grown. When the longshore contract was renegotiated in 1975, members twice rejected the plan despite a provision that substantially fattened the pay guarantee fund. A leaflet put out by rank-and-filers urging rejection explained that "the Negotiating Committee fell down precisely where the members are affected most—the protection of the Hiring Hall and the preservation of JOBS!!!"

Wages, too, remain an important issue on which unions aren't prepared to make large concessions to win income security. The inflation of recent years has actually eroded the purchasing power of workers' paychecks by 5 percent since 1973, forcing many workers to seek overtime work and making share-the-work plans unattractive. Even when unemployment was at its peak two years ago, a quarter of the full-time workforce put in more than the standard 40-hour week. And the average workweek for non-student males was the same in 1975 as it was in 1949: just under 43 hours.

Paul Rosenstiel is a freelance writer in San Francisco.

≡POSTAL FOLLIES≡

Technology challenges postal union

By Lawrence Swaim
On July 1, 1971, the same day the Postal Reorganization Act went into effect, the merger of several postal unions also became effective, creating the world's largest postal union, the American Postal Workers union. The stage was set, and remains essentially the same today.

The strategy of the postal management has been simple and effective. Thanks to the capital investment capabilities conferred on them by reorganization, they are well on their way toward a complete technological revolution.

Near-total computerization of the Postal Service would be relatively easy. Letter and parcel sizes could be standardized and optical character scanners could be used to read the addresses; the public could be required to type or print addresses as a condition of mailing anything.

An even more revolutionary approach would be an electronic communications system that would bypass the mail-handling process entirely—the letter would simply be coded, transmitted electronically from one city or station to another, decoded, and delivered. The Commission on Postal Service gave this a high priority, stating that management should decide within two years "whether the communication needs of American public require the Postal Service to provide service using electronic communication to collect, transmit, and deliver messages.

Postal workers would be significantly affected by such changes. The current postal technology has already caused the number of postal workers to fall, mostly through attrition, from 710,433 in 1974 to 639,782 at the time of writing. One can imagine the extent to which the proposed technology would further reduce this workforce.

As the nation's foremost employer of women, minorities, and the handicapped, a reduction of jobs in the Postal Service would represent a drying-up of employment opportunity where it is most needed.

Some progress has been made. While conditions have deteriorated (why should the employer create humane working conditions in an environment that will soon be dominated by machines?), the APWU and other postal unions have negotiated some excellent wage and fringe packages for the remaining employees, packages that would have been impossible under the old system of "collective begging" from Congress.

A new law requires the Board of Governors to hold their meetings in public, and the Commission on Postal Service has recommended that the Board of Governors should report regularly to an advisory council of mail users, union representatives and members of the public. This probably won't be implemented without pressure, however.

Elected representatives on Board?

The big question remains, however, of how the unions will respond to the upcoming changes in the Postal Service and the possibility that a majority of their membership may be automated out of their jobs.

One option would be for the unions to press for elected representatives of postal workers and postal patrons to sit on the Board of Governors, first as observers and later as voting members; making this a serious contract item, while launching an offensive to accomplish this legislatively.

The top union leadership is deeply opposed to this idea, and to the extent union members come in contact with it, opposition runs just as deep.

If there is one word to describe the average American trade unionist, it is "defensive." The employer acts; the union reacts. (During collective bargaining a union may present its proposals first, but these generally consist of reactions to all the things that have happened since the last contract, including inflation.)



The Postal Reorganization Act of 1971 laid the groundwork for the creation of the American Postal Workers. It may also have laid the groundwork for the near-total automation of the post office. But will the union respond to this challenge to its existence?

Putting elected representatives on a management board is seen as a contradiction. The average union member believes that such a representative will sooner or later sell out, and doubts the ability of the membership to recall the representatives faster than they sell out. There is also a feeling that there is a conflict of interest between anyone elected by workers and a management capacity. (These same workers see no conflict of interest in a bank president sitting on a governing board, however.)

There is the belief that things are best handled when roles are firmly distinguishable, and when management reserves the right to undertake long-range planning.

One also encounters among rank-and-filers the idea that tampering with basic power arrangements the way they exist now might in some unforeseeable way kill the goose that laid the golden egg, resulting in massive unemployment, or that too much structural change might result in the emergence of a threatening new class or elite,

usually perceived rather vaguely as upper-middle-class counterculturalists, New Left crazies, or bureaucratic whiz-kids from the business colleges.

Finally, the rank-and-file union members see proposals to put elected representatives on governing boards as abstract, unreal, too radical and irrelevant to their concrete needs, which are mainly increased wages and, to a lesser extent, improved working conditions.

Campaign of cooperation.

Alternative strategies would be for the APWU and other unions to push legislatively to make the entire Postal Service Board of Governors elective, either on a regional basis or at-large, or to put pressure on the legislative branch to force the Board of Governors to meet regularly with an advisory council of unionists, mailers, and members of the public, as recommended by the Commission on Postal Service. The postal unions could even push legislatively for such councils on the local level, and introduce legislation that would democratize the workroom floor. They also could push for a special task force to look into new postal technology and its effect on workers and patrons.

Under all of these strategies, the unions would have to initiate a campaign of intensive cooperation with consumer, public interest and community groups. They could work with postal patrons to compel the Postal Service's Office of Consumer Advocates to set up a comprehensive system of redress for the patron whose mail is lost or damaged, preferably a decentralized review board system that operates on a case-by-case basis and does its business in public. They might consider working with organized mailers such as the Magazine Publishers' Association.

The objective of this diverse coalition would have to be to improve service, impose public control over rates, humanize working conditions, and save jobs.

Political over economic.

I suggest a political strategy because basic economic decisions in this country are increasingly political. At the heart of the dilemma facing the postal unions, along with most public workers, is the question of the efficacy of the strike weapon. Is the strike still the best weapon for a public employee union to use?

In 1970 postal workers accomplished something (not everything, but something) by staging illegal wildcat strikes all over the country. Today, when organized public employees are scapegoated for everything from the urban fiscal crisis to the breakdown in American morality, an illegal nationwide strike would not achieve similar results and might result in the destruction of the unions themselves.

Collective bargaining remains the chief function of a union and the strike its ultimate weapon, but increasingly a political and social program may be necessary to achieve things that would be denied at the bargaining table, or to achieve objectives that cannot seriously be presented within the collective bargaining framework.

The struggle over the future of the Postal Service, like the struggle over the energy industry, is really a struggle over a technology. Whoever controls the postal technology will control the Postal Service or its successor organizations.

Will it be controlled by a broad coalition of postal workers and the public, by the present small elite, or by some uneven combination of forces impossible to foresee?

Whatever the outcome, it is an economic struggle that is being conducted politically. It has been ever since July 1, 1971, the magic date that was supposed to take the Post Office out of politics forever.

Lawrence Swaim is a former postal worker and leader of the Postal Clerks union.

IN THE WORLD

FRANCE

Anti-nuclear demo draws blood and anti-German alarm

MALVILLE, FRANCE—The French might pick the oddest times to be anti-German. The Nazi occupation, for instance, was not one of those times; on the whole, the right went along with the Germans and Petain, while the resistance was mostly the work of the left. But when the student revolt broke out in Paris in May '68, cries went up from the right that it was the fault of a handful of young Germans out to destroy French society.

Powerful Germans don't frighten the French right. But at the sight of powerless ones, like the young ecologists who trekked through the rain and mud to join the July 31 demonstration against construction of the Super-Phenix plutonium-fueled nuclear power plant at Malville on the Rhone River, the alarm is sounded to save France from the Huns and the "boches."

Several thousand Germans and Swiss camped in a field outside the town of Morestel awaiting the Sunday morning march. If something goes wrong with Super-Phenix, as many fear, the damage might extend to nearby Switzerland, or even Germany. Even more than that, the young West Germans oppose the technological police state implied by nuclear development, which they can see most clearly evolving in their own country.

On Saturday morning, the drenched Germans—it never stopped pouring down rain—were roused by police who ransacked the camp. Motorcycle helmets and camping knives all counted as proof of warlike intent. But the farm woman who owned the field stopped police from driving the Germans away. Her husband had been killed in Germany in the war, she told the young ecologists, but "I have nothing against you."

A non-violent march.

A different attitude was expressed by Rene Jannin, the 63-year-old Prefect of the Isere region (around Grenoble) and one-time head of French police in Algeria. "For the second time in history, Morestel is occupied by the boches! But we'll drive them out as we did before!" Jannin announced dramatically at a press conference on Saturday. Sounding like a general at the battle of Verdun, Jannin vowed to save French independence (in nuclear energy) from the Germans. This was apparently part of a campaign to whip the local gendarmes, and above all the national security police (CRS), into an unusually murderous mood.

This took all the more doing in that the march on Malville was billed as strictly non-violent. When the Prefect banned protesters from entering a large area around the Super-Phenix site, the organizers nevertheless held to the plan of trying to approach Malville—but non-violently. With Jannin declaring war and CRS troops gathering, how was this possible? The organizers kept exhorting their side to be non-violent, but there were no marshals, no plan to protect demonstrators from eventual police attack.

Afterwards, many complained that an abstract and artificial debate over "violence versus non-violence" had blocked the discussion that should have been held on collective self-defense. So did the rain. The downpour made it hard to communicate in open-air meetings, reduced vis-

Thousands of Swiss and German ecologists came to Malville to protest the plutonium-fueled nuclear power plant being built there. They wanted a peaceful demonstration—but the French prefect was determined to drive them out. One was killed and several others had their hands and feet blown off by teargas grenades....

ibility in the unfamiliar countryside and kept the crowd fragmented. Perhaps 30,000 to 50,000 hardy souls had come out to protest against "nuclear police society," but it was hard to get an accurate count. The crowd was too scattered and confused to act in unison.

Later, ecologist Brice Lalonde accused Jannin of having "lured demonstrators into a trap by taking down the barriers around an area that he claimed to put off limits" near the village of Faverge. This opinion was shared by villagers, who knew the terrain best and who watched the battle in rising indignation against the police. Jannin's purpose was obviously not to keep order, but to "win the war."

Dead and wounded.

One of the several thousand demonstrators who found themselves in the "trap" on a hillside outside Faverge was Michel Grangean, a 29-year-old inhabitant of the region who had come out of solidarity despite some doubts about the usefulness of the demonstration. Surrounded, a few of the demonstrators chose to be "violent" by throwing sticks or mud-pies at the army of CRS that was pounding the hillside with tear-gas grenades. Not interested in fighting, Grangean sat down in the field to catch his breath. A moment later, a grenade struck his right foot, blasting it off.

Afterwards, Jannin declared that "gendarmes have been wounded in frightful hand-to-hand combat." In fact, several policemen were seriously injured by their own grenades. One lost his hand when the grenade he was holding exploded too soon. On the other side, a demonstrator had his hand blown off when he picked up a police grenade with the intention of throwing it back.

The injuries of the police, even though self-inflicted, helped put the CRS in the mood to throw themselves against the ecologists with unusual violence. When the charge had passed, a man lay dead on the ground: Vital Michalon, a 31-year-old sci-

ence teacher from the nearby Drome region of Southern France.

Was Michalon, with advanced degrees in physics and chemistry, one of the "obscurantist" ecologists opposing nuclear progress out of ignorance and irrationality, as the defenders of the French atomic program, including the Communist party, portray them? After Malville, more people are beginning to wonder.

The people of the region had largely accepted Super-Phenix because "the experts know best." But there are official experts, who defend the nuclear program, and unofficial experts, who raise disturbing questions about it. The battle of Faverge got one point across to the local people: "Now we see what the ecologists mean when they say a nuclear society is a police society."

International movement.

Local inhabitants were shocked by police violence against the ecologists, whom they found polite and well-behaved. But the millions who watched television reports or read conservative newspapers tending to blame the "professional trouble-makers" and "commandos of disorder" from Germany may have gotten quite a different impression.

The death of Michalon, the injuries suffered by many others, and the confusion at the Malville demonstration have strengthened the misgivings of ecologists about that type of action. In a city, a demonstration may get its message across to a large population. In the countryside, security forces can beat demonstrators to a bloody pulp with only a few isolated peasants the wiser. Malville showed that calling on thousands of people to occupy "non-violently" a heavily guarded site does not make much sense. It can divide a crowd between those who take the objective seriously and those who take the non-violence seriously (the two being mutually exclusive), while both get clobbered.

But it is clear that the ecology movement is vigorous and growing. It needs to develop its own methods of struggle, in

keeping with its character, which is more profoundly non-violent, in the sense of being anti-militarist, than the working class movement has ever been.

And more internationalist. Working class internationalism has been an ideal promoted by organizers who realize that to defend themselves effectively against international banks and corporations, workers would need to ally across national boundaries. But this ideal is so far from having been achieved that even within a single country, workers are often split by ethnic or racial antagonisms.

The European ecology movement, in contrast, is spontaneously and naturally internationalist. It tends to be made up of students and educated people who have traveled abroad, speak a foreign language, find traditional patriotism ridiculous and are more at ease with like-minded people in neighboring countries than with their uptight compatriots who worship technocracy, military might and order. In France, as the rejection of "Leninism" spreads (and it is spreading rapidly), the ecology movement appears more and more as the natural heir to the utopianism of May '68.

It is also the only radical opposition movement with people looking forward eagerly to the European parliamentary elections. The European parliament has been widely seen as a way of isolating the "Eurocommunists" and bringing the full weight of West German conservatism to bear on the political evolution of Southern Europe. This very real threat of German domination has not, of course, troubled the French conservatives who derided the German "invasion" at Malville.

That sudden chauvinism was significant. Malville was the first clear sign that emerging technocratic Europe faces a young and unpredictable, genuinely internationalist grassroots movement with a totally opposed view of what life is about and what the Europe of the future should be.

Diana Johnstone lives in Paris and publishes *The Owl*.



PORTUGAL

Divided Socialists move rightward

By Jack Hammond

IN OUR LAST ISSUE, Diana Johnstone reported on the passage of the Portuguese Socialist party government's Agrarian Reform law. (See ITT, August 10.) According to Johnstone, the law, which returns past expropriations to private ownership and prevents further expropriation, "was a major landmark in the process undertaken by the Socialist government of turning Portugal away from the socialist course taken by the Armed Forces Movement and written into the new Portuguese constitution."

Jack Hammond, a professor of sociology at Hunter College in New York City and a member of the American - Portuguese Overseas Information Organization, recently returned from Portugal. Hammond reveals in the following article little-reported divisions that have arisen among the Socialists as the Soares government has moved right.

The Portuguese Socialist party (PS), though a minority in parliament, holds onto office by aligning with the Communists on some issues and with the rightwing Social Democratic party (PSD) and Social Democratic Center (CDS) on others. It can justifiably claim that no coalition either with its right or its left would be better able to govern.

But its effectiveness in confronting the country's serious economic problems—14 percent unemployment, 30 percent inflation in the last year, and a growing balance of payments deficit—has cost it popularity. Even the PS's own left wing has come to believe that the government is leaning decisively toward capitalist recovery rather than toward socialist transformation.

In addition to the agrarian reform law, the left in and out of the PS has opposed a series of government policies:

- a law making it easier for employers to fire their workers;
- a law, passed in alliance with the PSD, opening up to private investment and management many sectors that had been brought under virtually complete government control in 1975;
- the return of many "intervened" companies to their former owners;
- a new investment code favorable to foreign investors;
- a newly-negotiated \$750 million dollar loan from several capitalist countries (with the U.S. in the lead) to cover part of the balance of payments deficit under conditions to be negotiated later with the IMF;
- calls for a "social pact" under which unions would "voluntarily" hold down wages and accept productivity increases;
- an administrative decree limiting new wage settlements to a 15 percent increase;
- and a repeated threat to create new trade unions parallel to those now led by Communists.

In late spring, the government made some moves to the left, inviting the Communist-led labor federation, Intersindical, to negotiate on economic policy and presenting a three-year economic plan that emphasized full employment and meeting the economic needs of the people to the relative detriment of capital investment. But the agrarian reform law and the Socialists' threats to form a parallel union structure

undercut these gestures, and they did not last very long anyway.

The government broke off negotiations with the Intersindical almost immediately after it began them. The economic plan threatened to become a dead letter before it was put into effect, because its proposals were almost certain to prove incompatible with the IMF's conditions for the loan, and because it appears to have been part of the price for the PSD's support on agrarian reform. Though parliament has been scheduled to vote on it before the debate on agrarian reform, it was unexpectedly returned to committee a few days earlier.

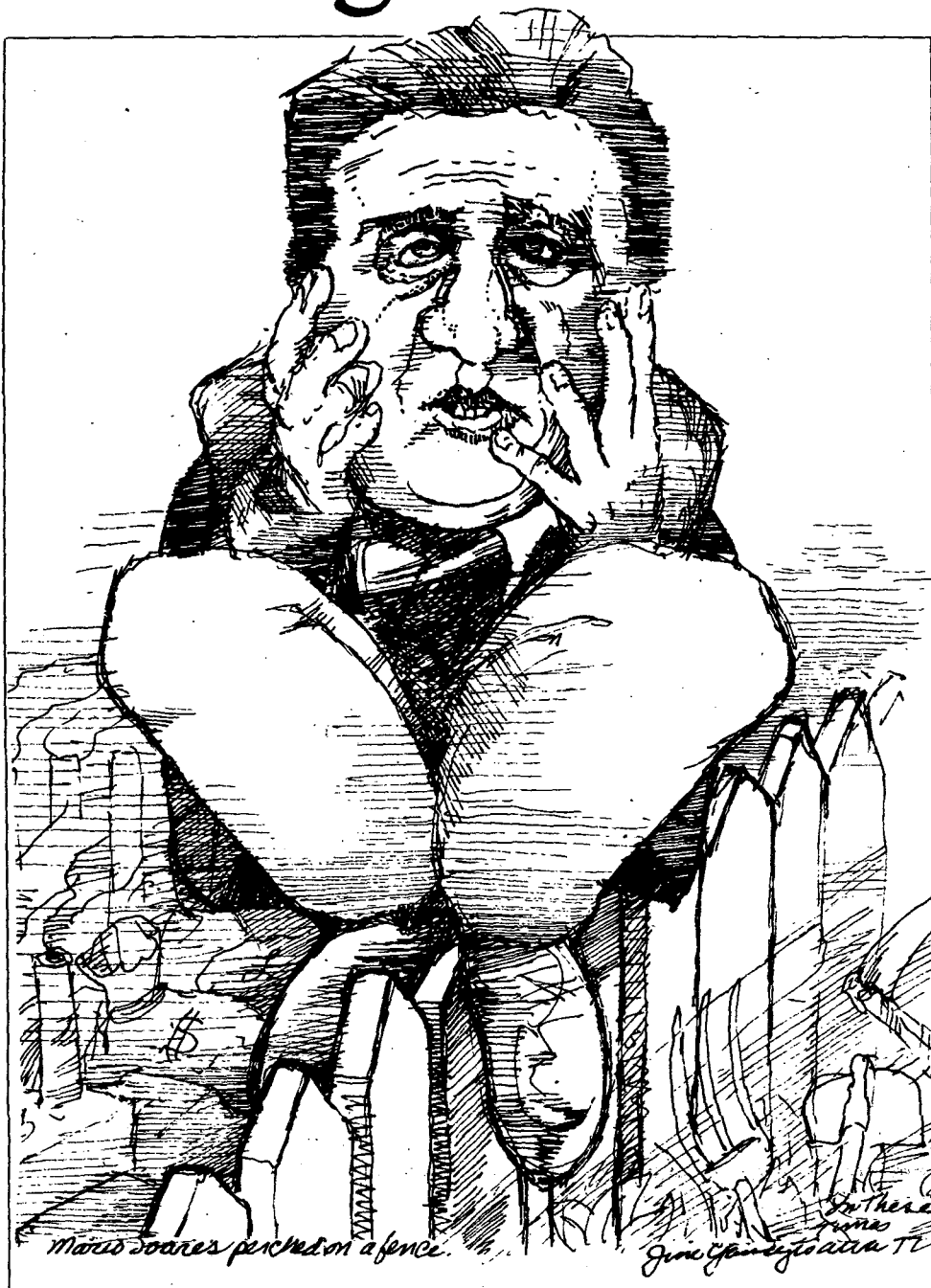
The breach in the Socialist party has given birth to a "cultural organization" of left Socialists and independents, *Fraternidade Operaria* (Workers' Fraternity), led by Antonio Lopes Cardoso, the left Socialist who was replaced as Minister of Agriculture last year for his support of agrarian reform. At its first national meeting in June, *Fraternidade Operaria* roundly attacked the Soares government.

Lopes Cardoso said that the question was no longer whether the government was moving at the right speed, but whether it was going in the right direction.

Though opposing government policy, *Fraternidade* attempted to avoid an outright schism in the PS, afraid that it would become just another left sect. But the PS's National Commission has threatened to expel all members of *Fraternidade*, and Lopes Cardoso himself is almost certain to be expelled because he violated party discipline by voting against the agrarian reform law.

The trade union policy of the PS has also alienated its left wing. Portugal's single trade union federation, the Intersindical, remains the Communists' major base of strength. Off and on since 1975 (when they were taking advice from the AFL-CIO's Irving Brown) the Socialists have threatened to create a parallel union structure. This threat has come from the party hierarchy, however; the Socialist trade unionists want to keep a single federation, but work within it to free it from Communist control.

When the Socialists began to win some (mostly white-collar) union elections



most of their unions disaffiliated from the Intersindical and many of their leaders created an organization known as the "Open Letter" (after its founding document; it has taken no more formal name to emphasize its determination not to be regarded as an alternative federation). During 1976 Open Letter attempted to intervene in the Intersindical to democratize it and provide a wider role for non-Communists.

The founders of Open Letter, most of them from the left of the PS, found their own position within their party weakened when the policies of the Soares government became clear. The Intersindical took advantage of the breach by opening itself to some of the more disaffected trade union leaders. In an uncharacteristic move for a usually very sectarian organization, Intersindical elected some Socialists and independents to its governing board at its January congress.

Many non-Communist unions have returned to the Intersindical, and their leaders give every sign of being satisfied with its new openness. Communists and non-Communists have put together unity slates which have won elections in several important unions, such as the Lisbon commercial workers' and teachers' unions.

To combat these advances by the left, the Minister of Labor, Maldonado Gonet, revived the idea of parallel unionism, proposing in April that Socialists in Communist-led unions should begin to form competing unions and, ultimately, a competing federation. Gonet's proposal was approved by the PS National Commission, but only after leftists who had not yet gone over to the Intersindical walked out. The Commission also, however, approved some contradictory resolutions that make the Gonet strategy unlikely to be implemented immediately.

But the government was playing two sides of the trade union question—talking openly about forming competing unions while it negotiated economic policy

with the Intersindical. The Intersindical was also strengthening its offensive position while claiming to negotiate. It announced a "Day of Struggle" demonstration against the economic crisis and the government's economic policy for June 22.

On June 21 Gonet presented on television a long, emotional attack on the Intersindical, saying that calling the demonstration was a sign of bad faith in the negotiations. He concluded by announcing that the government was breaking the negotiations off. The speech was intended to persuade Socialists to stay away from the demonstration, but it clearly backfired. Huge numbers poured out in 30 cities and towns (well over 100,000 in Lisbon alone). The demonstration had the publicly announced support of *Fraternidade Operaria* and other left groups and the tacit participation of the Maoist UDP, which customarily attacks the Communists from the left. Its size and the participation of many political groups whose attitude toward the Communist is, at best, ambiguous, offered ample proof that Communist hegemony on the left is growing.

But with the PS moving closer to an outright coalition with the PSD, and with the Lopes Cardoso wing on the brink of probable expulsion, the government will be taking more and more rightwing positions, and the left has few options. It can only hope to maintain unity and press the government for tactical concessions. The dreams of instant revolution in 1975 have been replaced by a long, hard pull in which the present focus is not on transformation of the society but on immediate economic demands.

Jack Hammond teaches sociology at Hunter College, CUNY, and is a member of APOIO (American-Portuguese Overseas Information Organization). He was in Portugal in May and June.

ITALY

Would-be revolutionaries beware

By John Low-Beer

At the end of June, against a backdrop of escalating terrorism in Italy, the Christian Democrats, the Communists, and the smaller parties of the center and center-left signed an agreement on a common program. While the program was hailed by the Communists as ushering in a new era, its significance was downplayed by the Christian Democrats (DC). Amintore Fanfani, one of the leaders of the DC, criticized the vagueness and generality of many key items. Subsequent developments are proving him right. No sooner was the ink dry on the agreement than splits developed on two important political matters.

One dispute concerned the implementing of the law transferring many of the powers of the central government to the recently created regional governments. The central administration is one of the political strongholds of the Christian Democratic party, and its factional bosses are reluctant to surrender control over their fiefdoms to the regional governments, many of which are in the hands of the Communists and their allies.

The second dispute was over the so-called "fair rent" bill. The original draft of this bill allowed landlords a 3 percent return on their investment. The Christian Democrats, supported by the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement, proposed to raise the profit to 5 percent. If accepted, this change would result in much greater rent increases than under the 3 percent figure.

A compromise has now been reached on the first issue, and compromise is in the offing on the second. But the disputes illustrate the weakness of the Communists' position. In both cases, they placed their desire for agreement with the Christian Democrats about the substantive issues involved. The Christian Democrats, in contrast, showed little desire to give way on specific issues. With conservative factions within the DC opposed to any kind of agreement with the Communists, the party has an excuse to renegotiate the program at each step. In the event that the program fails to meet its objectives, the Communists, who have courted the Christian Democrats with such assiduity, will be given most of the blame.

Communist lose ground.

Already now, the feeling is widespread that the Communists have lost ground since their surge forward in the 1976 elections. Their supporters want results quickly and have little patience with the notion of a transition period. They fear that the system will absorb the Communist party just as it absorbed the Socialists in the '60s.

In most cities where the Communists came to power in 1975, they have little to show for their two years effort. Bologna, the showcase city of the Communist party, is not typical. Under Communist rule for 30 years, it is a small city with a stable economy and population. Other cities with newly elected Communist administrations, such as Rome, Milan, Turin, Naples and Venice, face severe problems: fiscal crisis, shortages of reasonably priced housing, inadequacy of social services such as schools and hospitals, and transport systems deeply in debt. City governments have little autonomy in Italy, and the fiscal crisis reduces still further their room for maneuver.

As the Communists move toward an alliance with their erstwhile enemies, the Christian Democrats, a political void has been created to their left, which has been successfully exploited by the terrorist groups, who benefit from the sympathies of some among the frustrated youth unable to find jobs. In the last few months guerrilla attacks have become an almost daily occurrence. Most frequently their selected victims are shot in the legs. The targets are foremen and managers, conservative journalists and professors, and, in recent weeks, lower-level elected officials of



In Rome, followers of the Radical party rally in May in defiance of a police ban on demonstrations.

UPI

As the Communists move toward alliance with the Christian Democrats, a political void has appeared on their left. It is being filled and exploited by terrorist groups.

the Christian Democratic party. Arson and bombings are also frequent.

Escalation of violence.

The escalation of violence in the last few years has been gradual but steady. In the early '70s, actions were primarily demonstrative in character. Cars were burned. Managers were kidnapped and later released. Over the years, connections were established between mafia kidnapers and terrorist groups. The jailing of some terrorists led to the recruitment of common criminals. Within the Red Brigades, the Nuclei of Armed Proletarians (NAP), and other groups advocating armed struggle, the first generation, who had their roots in the student movement of the '60s, was replaced by a second generation, much less timid in its use of violence.

Since last winter the atmosphere of tension and violence has been increased by the "Autonomy" groups. These groups reflect frustration among students with no prospects of decent employment, for whom the earlier phases of the movement have produced no results. Their philosophy is anarchistic. They do not carry out organized terrorist attacks, but they do come to demonstrations with pistols in their pockets, ready to use them should the occasion arise.

The strategy of the terrorist groups appears to be similar to that of terrorist groups elsewhere: terror will provoke repression, unmasking the bourgeois state and leading to a revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat. In all examples so far (Uruguay, Argentina, West Germany), repression has occurred, but the revolution has failed to follow. These examples make it obvious, if it was not already, that a guerilla strategy in a bourgeois democracy can only favor the forces of reaction. In fact, some evidence suggests that the ter-

rorists have links and support on the right, and that there are provocateurs among them.

If one of the goals of the terrorists is to bring about the failure of the Communist strategy of "historical compromise" with the Christian Democrats, they may well succeed, not in the short run, but in the longer run. After nine years of continued mobilization, the Italian left is pessimistic and disoriented. Neither opponents nor supporters of the "historical compromise" see an easy way out of the current crisis. Great difficulties face the would-be reformer, to say nothing of the revolutionary.

Barriers to change.

In the 30 years they have been in power, Christian Democrats have created a class structure admirably suited, at least until recently, to providing them with political support, and highly resistant to changes that might rationalize the economy. The main peculiarity of this class structure is the growth of traditional middle class groups that are elsewhere in decline (small businessmen, shopkeepers, small landowners, and small farmers), an artificial growth stimulated by the Christian Democrats and rarely opposed by the other parties who are all afraid of alienating such large groups of potential supporters. These traditional middle class groups as well as other special interest groups are very important to the Christian Democratic party's power base, and are able to block reforms whose necessity is recognized even by the Christian Democrats themselves.

The state itself constitutes a further formidable barrier to change. The public administration is riddled with people hired through patronage, and for this and other reasons is highly inefficient. It includes innumerable autonomous and semi-autono-

mous agencies, many of which have long outgrown their usefulness.

State-owned industrial conglomerates control a large part of the Italian economy. These groups are able to make large financial contributions to various political factions, and have become the bases of a private power often only nominally subject to public control. During the last few years, as a result of political pressures, these conglomerates have taken over many bankrupt companies, placing a significant burden on the economy as a whole while coming increasingly to serve narrow political ends. The machinery of government is relatively impervious to the policies set by Parliament. Delays of two to three years in spending money allocated by Parliament are very common.

The alternatives facing the Communist party are disquieting. Accepting partial responsibility in the present situation does not enable the party to prevent the development of terrorism and may even promote it. Yet the PCI is reluctant to return to the opposition. The Christian Democrats have already amply demonstrated their inability to implement the changes necessary to halt and reverse the downward social and economic spiral.

The Communists fear repeating the mistakes made by the left over 50 years ago, when its refusal to emerge from a largely rhetorical opposition in a period of crisis contributed to the success of Mussolini. Their greatest hope, utopian though it may be, is to bring Italy out of the present crisis with a strengthened democratic framework, thereby gaining support for further steps in the direction of socialism.

*John Low-Beer is a professor of sociology at Yale University and author of the forthcoming book **Protest and Participation: The New Working Class in Italy**. He recently returned from Italy.*

THE CASE THAT WON'T DIE

In 1920, shoemaker Nicola Sacco and fish peddler Bartolomeo Vanzetti, both anarchists, were convicted of murder. They were executed in 1927, but the case, an international sensation, won't die.



Sacco, right, Vanzetti, Center, with a guard.

I. Librettos & Secret Papers

Eight years ago Robert D'Attilio worked as a part-time stage manager for the now defunct Boston Philharmonia. His chief musical achievement was the writing of a libretto based on an obscure Lithuanian folk tale. Looking for another subject for an opera libretto, D'Attilio decided on the most controversial trial in Massachusetts history, the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

In 1920 Nicola Sacco, a shoemaker, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a fish peddler, were tried and convicted of the murders of a shoe factory paymaster and a guard in South Braintree, Mass. In 1927 the two men, both anarchists, were electrocuted.

The case became an international sensation; from Berlin to Buenos Aires, millions protested. In Paris troops had to guard the American embassy. American intellectuals, liberals and leftists rallied in support of Sacco and Vanzetti in the vain effort to prevent their executions.

The subject seemed naturally dramatic to D'Attilio. The more he read about the case, however, the more convinced he became of its hopeless complexity and the impossibility of using it as the basis of an opera.

But D'Attilio's avocation soon became his principal work. Being fluent in Italian, he began delving into the newspapers and pamphlets of the early Italian-Ameri-

can anarchists, the milieu from which Sacco and Vanzetti emerged.

The Boston Public Library, which has in its archives the only film of the Sacco-Vanzetti funeral, attended by over a quarter-million people and marred by scuffles with the police, was interested in expanding its collection on Sacco-Vanzetti. D'Attilio began working jointly with Francis Maloney, the library's assistant director, in taping interviews of old-timers who recalled aspects of the case and times.

A grant enabled him to travel to Italy, where he did research in the government archives in Rome.

D'Attilio became a thorough expert on the case. Writers of articles and books on Sacco-Vanzetti regularly seek his judgement on its various aspects. He has an historian's fastidiousness about materials, unwilling to concede a fact until it is conclusively proven.

He is also reticent to talk about his own research, but he gives the impression that the book he is preparing will present some surprises. "I don't like to speak too much before my work is done," he says. "It does no good unless there are facts that show guilt or innocence. Speculation means nothing in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Otherwise it's a waste of paper."

Asked if he thought the men were guilty, D'Attilio responded that there is no firm evidence establishing their guilt. He believes that there is "no question that they were unjustly tried. If they were tried in a different time they probably wouldn't have been convicted."

D'Attilio is also at the center of another, more recent, controversy. In the spring of 1974, he informed Harvard University's library that he wished to see a single envelope of documents it possesses; in the fall of that year he made a formal written request. This was the beginning of a protracted process that culminated with the Cambridge City Council passing a resolution demanding that Harvard open this package, which contains papers that be-

longed to former Harvard president A. Lawrence Lowell and is marked simply "Sacco-Vanzetti."

Lowell headed a three-member committee after the trial that advised Gov. Alvan Fuller that they found no basic discrepancies in the evidence against the anarchists. Although there is no way of knowing, it is widely suspected that some working papers from this committee are probably what comprise the sealed documents. There is a chance that they may shed new light on the affair.

Five years after Lowell's death in 1943 Henry Yeomans, his friend and biographer (but not the executor of his papers), gave Harvard a package labeled "Sacco-Vanzetti," on the condition that it not be opened until Dec. 9, 1977.

Yeomans' right to seal Lowell's papers is questioned by D'Attilio. He doubts whether Yeomans had any legal standing to do this. If the papers deal with state matters and are not personal correspondence (as is commonly thought, since Lowell was notorious for his consistently prim refusal to express personal feelings), then, D'Attilio says, they are not private property to be withheld from the public.

When Harvard denied D'Attilio access to the documents he explained his trouble to Cambridge Mayor Alfred Vellucci, whose political base lies with the Italians of East Cambridge.

In late January the Cambridge City Council unanimously passed a resolution asking Harvard to open the "Sacco-Vanzetti" envelope.

Harvard professor Oscar Handlin, chairman of the library committee, replied a few days later, "There is no indication that these papers deal with the Sacco-Vanzetti trial." On March 15, Harvard's general counsel Daniel Steiner issued a one-page statement rejecting the city council's request. He said, "If libraries such as Harvard's do not honor commitments, individuals are likely to destroy papers which will then not be available

By Sidney Blumenthal

for future study... We also note that December is not many months away. It is difficult to see what harm is done by waiting."

Steiner noted in his statement that Stephen Riley, the former Director of the Massachusetts Historical Society, would catalogue the contents of the Lowell package when it is opened. Steiner estimated that this procedure might take four to six weeks.

Professor Handlin added, "We don't have to show these papers to anyone, anytime, unless they're qualified." And so D'Attilio was still unsure whether he would ever be permitted to inspect the documents. Nobody at Harvard bothered to send him a reply.

Under questioning, however, Handlin conceded that "D'Attilio would certainly have access." He is waiting impatiently.

This incident seems once again to prove that this is "the case that will not die," in the words of Sacco and Vanzetti's co-defense counsel, Herbert Ehrmann. Partisans continue to battle each other. And there may be intriguing new leads beyond what the Lowell papers promise. But at least a cursory understanding of the case and the period in which it took place is needed to make clear the significance of the debate.

II. The Road to the Chair

After World War I, many respectable, prudent men of power in the U.S. feared that the Bolshevik revolution might spread to this country. The war to "save the world for democracy" (President Woodrow Wilson's words), had heightened expectations among the returning soldiers, who had believed the rhetoric. Labor unions were making a big push to organize the unorganized; there was a national steel strike and a general strike in Seattle.

But the strikes were met by violence from the authorities, who condemned them as the specter of Communism. The American Legion, founded by rightwing members of the officer corps and funded initially by the Morgan interests, led murderous assaults on labor union headquarters across the country.

In 1919, the climactic year of unrest, Boston policemen went on strike for better wages and conditions. Governor Calvin Coolidge crushed the strike and created a national reputation for himself that led to the presidency.

Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, then a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, ordered in January 1920 a nationwide round-up of radicals and mass deportations. The operation was directed by a young man in the new Bureau of Investigation of the Justice department, J. Edgar Hoover.

Immigrants were the main targets of the "Red raids" because they were most vulnerable and worked mainly in the industrial sector, which was the most restive. In Boston the raids took place in the middle of the night and radicals were led through the streets wearing manacles.

Luigi Galleani, the leading Italian-American anarchist, editor of a newspaper called *Cronaca Sovversa* published in Lynn, was among the early deportees. Later two of his associates, Roberto Elia and Andrea Salsedo were caught in the federal dragnet. After questioning by Justice department agents, Salsedo was discovered dead on the pavement, 14 stories below the room where he had been kept. Elia signed an affidavit later (for Sacco-Vanzetti defense lawyers) testifying that he had seen Salsedo beaten and tortured. It is still uncertain whether Salsedo committed suicide or was pushed out the window.

Followers of Galleani in the Boston area were jolted by these events. They began to organize meetings to discuss their plight, but had to go about it in a semi-underground fashion. They were never sure when federal agents might swoop down upon them.

Two days after Salsedo's death, on May 5, 1920, two anarchists awkwardly carrying pistols in their belts on their mission to have some handbills printed, were arrested in West Bridgewater. The men were Sacco and Vanzetti, staunch followers of Galleani, whom Vanzetti called "our master."

Not charged at their arrest, they were eventually told they were under suspicion for committing the South Braintree crimes.

Even before those indictments were issued Vanzetti was made to stand trial for allegedly committing a hold-up in Bridgewater on Christmas Eve, 1919.

Bridgewater police chief Michael Stewart believed that this stickup was "the work of an out-of-town band of Russians," adding that "a lot of Reds and Bolsheviks about town... drift in from Connecticut and elsewhere in Massachusetts." An informant with ties in the Mafia told the police that those who pulled off the Bridgewater job were anarchists. He said he knew this because he had consulted a fortune-teller who looked into a special crime-detecting machine and plainly saw the culprits.

During Vanzetti's trial for this offense he called over 20 witnesses in his behalf, testifying that he was selling

ceels in Plymouth on the day of the crime; all of the witnesses were Italian.

Vanzetti did not take the stand himself, as is traditional in European courts. In an American setting, however, this was construed as an implicit admission of guilt. A jury found him guilty, and Judge Webster Thayer, a venerable Yankee, pronounced a harsh 12-15 year sentence.

The Sacco-Vanzetti trial in Dedham for the South Braintree crimes was conducted by the same judge, whose conduct became a point of controversy. He jabbered garrulously about the defendants to anyone who would lend him an ear, even telling a room full of reporters: "I'll show 'em."

His most infamous statement was made after the trial. "Did you see what I did with those anarchistic bastards the other day?"

Frank Sibley, the veteran reporter who covered the trial for the *Boston Globe*, remarked, "What affected me more than anything else was his manner. It is nothing that you can read in the record. In my 35 years [as a newspaperman] I never saw anything like it.... His whole manner, attitude seemed to be that the jurors were there to convict these men.... The rulings against the defendants were done with the air of prejudice and scorn."

Thayer's lapses of judicial propriety are too numerous to list here. It must be noted though that his summary of the prosecution case in his charge to the jury included several "facts" that had not been proven.

Frederick Katzmann, the District Attorney prosecuting the case, painted the defendants as subversives.

Felix Frankfurter, then a law professor at Harvard and later a Supreme Court justice, wrote, "By systematic exploitation of the defendants' alien blood, their imperfect knowledge of English, their unpopular social views, and their opposition to the war, the District Attorney invoked against them a riot of political passion and patriotic sentiment; and the trial judge connived at—one had almost written, cooperated in—the process."

Three weeks into the trial the prosecution began to claim that Sacco's pistol had fired one of the deadly shots in South Braintree; previous to this time, the prosecution had shown no interest in pursuing this avenue. Its chief witness was Captain William Proctor of the state police who testified, "My opinion is that it (the bullet in question) is consistent with being fired by that pistol (Sacco's)."

Proctor's carefully phrased statement was unchallenged by the mercurial defense counsel, Fred Moore, a radical labor lawyer from California.

Later, Sacco and Vanzetti secured William Thompson, a conservative Boston corporate attorney, to represent them. He obtained a deposition from Proctor in which he said: "Had I been asked the direct question: whether I found any affirmative evidence whatever that this so-called mortal bullet had passed through this particular Sacco's pistol, I should have answered then, as I do now without hesitation, in the negative."

A parade of prosecution witnesses appeared on the stand claiming to identify Sacco and Vanzetti as being present at the South Braintree crime scene. They offered differing physical descriptions of the men and placed them at varying locations. Many of the witnesses had previously stated to reporters and friends that they had not seen the men, but on the stand they were suddenly sure of the identification.

Some of these witnesses later recanted parts of their testimony, including Louis Levangie, who apparently had the clearest look at the perpetrators. He was a gatekeeper who saw the occupants of the getaway car; he identified Vanzetti as the driver. Defense counsel Moore failed in court to point out that Vanzetti didn't know how to drive.

One of the prosecution witnesses was on the lam from the law in New York and living under an assumed name; another was a prostitute whose companion that day in South Braintree directly contradicted her testimony.

Even Judge Thayer acknowledged that the direct evi-

dence against Sacco and Vanzetti was ambiguous. He directed the jury to base their finding on consciousness of guilt, a nebulous psychological category.

About four years after the trial, in which interval the case became an international *cause celebre*, a fellow prisoner of Sacco and Vanzetti's in the Dedham jail, Celestino Maderios, convicted of killing a cashier during a bank stickup, confessed to involvement in the South Braintree crime. He asserted that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent and that he had participated in the holdup and murders as a member of the Providence, Rhode Island-based Morelli gang.

Joe Morelli, the head of the gang, indeed faced indictments involving robberies of shoe factories in South Braintree, including one at the company where the crime



5,000 sympathizers demonstrate in Chicago's Ashland Auditorium, Aug. 9, 1927, against the impending execution.

occurred. Morelli's lawyer told Sacco-Vanzetti co-counsel Herbert Ehrmann that the gang kept spotters at these companies who gave notice when it was a likely time to stage a heist.

In his final refusal to overturn the verdict, Judge Thayer dismissed the Maderios confession, suggesting that the convicted killer expected a payoff from the defense committee. Thayer also misrepresented Maderios's statement in his decision and questioned defense counsel Thompson's sanity.

Before Sacco and Vanzetti had been pinned with the crime, New Bedford police were engaged in their own investigation based on the supposition that the Morelli gang were the probable bandits. After the indictments were announced, however, this probe was dropped.

Not a single effort was made by the authorities to determine whether there was any validity to Maderios' confession.

Robert D'Attilio say, "You can't speak with assuredness about Morelli, although there is much stronger evidence against Morelli than against Sacco and Vanzetti. But law enforcement officials were not concerned. That's the remarkable thing about it."

The final obstacle standing between Sacco and Vanzetti-

Mass. governor calls trial unfair

There are substantial, indeed compelling grounds for believing that the Sacco-Vanzetti legal proceedings were permeated with unfairness," declared Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis on July 19 at a special news conference.

Nicola Sacco's grandson, Spencer Sacco, a Rhode Island music professor, was present at the ceremony to accept a proclamation issued by the governor officially declaring that the famous trial was marked by procedures that today would be considered flagrant abuses of justice.

As part of the official statement, August 23, the 50th anniversary of Sacco and Vanzetti's execution, was proclaimed "Sacco-Vanzetti Day" in Massachusetts.

Both Dukakis and Dan Taylor, his legal counsel, who conducted an inquiry into the case that led to the proclamation, used to work as lawyers for Hill and Barlow, a very respectable Boston law firm, that was the last to defend the two Italian-American radicals.

"The old Yankee firm lost half of its business at the time they took on the case, but I think they've since recovered financially," Taylor said.

Dukakis refused to grant a posthumous pardon, on Taylor's advice, because it might connote guilt. While his proclamation neither asserted the guilt nor innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti, it was happily received by Spencer Sacco and the aging members of the Boston defense committee, which still occasionally meets.

The governor was rebuked for his proclamation by David Farrell, conservative *Boston Globe* columnist, who argued in two columns that the trial had indeed been fair.

He extensively quoted the sons of the late Massachusetts governor Alvan Fuller, who refused clemency for Sacco and Vanzetti. Alvan Fuller Jr. demanded that Dukakis immediately resign.

It was generally agreed by political observers, however, that Dukakis' act was a shrewd political move aimed partly at gaining liberal support, which has faltered as a result of his fiscal conservatism. If nothing else, the new proclamation indicates that the case is still an issue in Massachusetts politics.



The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti, by Ben Shahn (1931-32). From left: protestors; Gov. Alvan T. Fuller; Vanzetti and Sacco.

The Lowell Committee at the anarchists' coffins.

ti and the electric chair was the Lowell Commission, appointed by Gov. Fuller to advise him whether or not to grant clemency.

Lowell and his fellow commissioners, William Stratton, president of MIT, and probate judge Robert Grant, did not find anything wrong with the evidence against the two men. They even offered a witness, Lotti Tatillo, against the pair that the prosecution had been afraid to use because of her unreliability.

Jeremiah Gallivan, the former police chief of Braintree, knew her well. He told the commission, "She ought to be out in the Brookline Psychopathic Hospital. She is a nut. She is crazy, and she has been that way for years." Nevertheless, the commission patiently heard Tatillo's testimony, which reads today like a Gracie Allen monologue, except it doesn't make sense. She said the men were innocent and guilty, had been in South Braintree and hadn't, she was confused about which decade events had occurred, and ended by saying that she thought Sacco wasn't the man she had previously identified as one of the gunmen.

The Lowell Commission report, incredibly, supported her prior claim to having seen Sacco in South Braintree on the morning of the crime. "The woman is eccentric, not unimpeachable in conduct," they wrote, "but the committee believes that in this case her testimony is well worth consideration."

About Vanzetti they concluded, "On the whole, we are of opinion that Vanzetti also was guilty beyond reasonable doubt." By using the phrase "on the whole," the commission seemed to infer that a shadow of a doubt did exist.

Regardless, the commission's report solidified Massachusetts public opinion behind the executions and allayed any doubts that Gov. Fuller might have had.

On August 23, 1927, Sacco and Vanzetti were electrocuted. Celestino Madeiros also died in the chair that day, silencing him forever.

III. The Case Continues...

As years passed, a broad consensus of opinion developed that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent and received an unfair trial. Until this year (see accompanying story) the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, however, never officially admitted the slightest error or acknowledged the men in any way. When the Federal Writers Project guide book to Massachusetts was published in the mid-'30s Gov. Hurley discovered that it was favorably disposed to Sacco and Vanzetti. His protests forced the first edition to be recalled and a new edition written, revising the objectionable section.

Gotzom Borglum, the sculptor who designed the Mt. Rushmore monument, created a plaster cast of Sacco and Vanzetti in the '30s and generously offered it to the city of Boston and the Commonwealth; both refused. The plaster cast now resides in the Boston Community Church.

In 1959 state representative Al Cela proposed that the legislature grant the men a posthumous pardon; hearings were held but the pardon was not approved.

Annual dinners are still held by the aging members of the Boston Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee, but no new evidence has been unearthed to vindicate the men.

On the other hand, in 1960 Francis Russell authored a volume on the case, *Tragedy in Dedham*, that claimed to have new information proving Sacco's guilt. Until now, many historians have regarded it as the definitive work.

Francis Russell says that he was "overwhelmed" to learn that Carlo Tresca, a leading anarchist, considered Sacco guilty. Writer Max Eastman reportedly confided to Russell that Tresca had told him, "Sacco was guilty but Vanzetti was not."

Russell argued that "if anyone should have had inside knowledge of the affair, Tresca was the man," because Tresca was "the acknowledged and admired leader of the anarchists in the United States, to whom they turned as a matter of course when they were in trouble."

Robert D'Attilio raises serious objections to this interpretation. "It's absurd to talk about a leader of the anarchists," he says. He chides Russell for a shallow understanding of the Italian-American anarchist movement.

D'Attilio has learned from his research in Italian language sources that Vanzetti and Sacco "did not even consider Tresca an anarchist, but a syndicalist. They looked upon him as a renegade. He would help them but they never trusted him fully. They would never have turned to him because Tresca was anti-Galleani."

For Russell to be "overwhelmed" on the basis of a single piece of hearsay strikes D'Attilio as "nonsense."

Russell has also been confronted by Beatrice Tresca, Carlo's daughter, who had a very close relationship with Carlo. She publicly denied that her father ever made such a statement. Russell also conducted his own ballistics test of Sacco's gun to determine if it fired one of the bullets that killed the shoe factory guard. As his experts he recruited Jac Weller and Frank Jury who concluded after firing the weapon that the gun fired the fatal shot.

Russell failed to tell readers that before the test Weller and Jury had published a book claiming that Sacco was guilty. "This doesn't exhibit much common sense on Russell's part," D'Attilio says. Whatever the scientific conditions of Russell's test, it is compromised by his experts' *a priori* beliefs.

The most damaging charge about Russell's credibility centers on his handling of the Morelli hypothesis, which he denigrates. He says he secured Joe Morelli's autobiography, closely guarded by his family, which states that Sacco, Vanzetti and three of their anarchist comrades pulled off the South Braintree job.

Helen Morelli, Joe's daughter was unwilling to give him this evidence, but he writes, "Not until a year after this interview (with Helen Morelli) did I finally manage to learn the contents of Joe Morelli's document." This sentence is glaring in its ambiguity. How did Russell procure Morelli's version?

Within a year of her interview with Russell, Helen Morelli's husband separated from her. He came to Russell, D'Attilio contends, offering to tell him what was in Morelli's manuscript but not allowing Russell to read it himself.

According to D'Attilio, Russell paid Helen Morelli's estranged spouse several hundred dollars for the information. D'Attilio claims this proves Russell's unreliability as an historian. "It's intolerable what he has done to the facts."

D'Attilio says Russell's techniques have undermined his book. "Once you take away Tresca's statement and the Morelli autobiography, and learn that he compromised the ballistics test, where does that leave him?"

In 1975, in response to a Freedom of Information Act suit, the FBI turned over to D'Attilio about 700 pages of its files relating to the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The files show that J. Edgar Hoover, then an ambitious Justice department underling, directed the investigation against the anarchists grouped around the *Cronaca Sovversiva* newspaper with which Sacco and Vanzetti were associated. Their names were on Justice department files as subscribers.

"Hoover received the reports of informants," says d'Attilio. Agents also attended Vanzetti's trial for the Bridgewater holdup, sending in regular reports. When the defense committee was organized the Justice department had stenographers attend every meeting.

D'Attilio says their spying is "invaluable" to historians since they "preserved all the speeches." He terms it a "monumental effort," with "no previous parallel." He's not sure he has all the Justice department papers in the case. "Some may have been destroyed," he surmises. "The Justice department had been watching the men for some time and would have wanted to get them out of the way. It is plausible that the momentum of events carried [the Justice department] further than they wanted to go. Hoover may have been the thread through all of this, although I have no way of knowing."

Actually, there is a basis in fact for D'Attilio's notion. In 1926 two Bureau of Investigation agents came to defense counsel Thompson and signed affidavits explaining the Boston office's role in the case, as far as they knew.

Agent Lawrence Letherman said: "The Department of Justice in Boston was anxious to get sufficient evidence against Sacco and Vanzetti to deport them, but never succeeded in getting the kind and amount of evidence required for that purpose. It was the opinion of department agents here that a conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti for murder would be one way of disposing of these two men. It was also the opinion of such agents in Boston as had any actual knowledge of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, that Sacco and Vanzetti, although agitators and anarchists, were not highway robbers, and had nothing to do with the South Braintree crime. My opinion, and the opinion of most of the older men in the government service, has always been that the South Braintree crime was the work of professionals."

When Thompson presented this statement to Judge Thayer, the imperious judge cavalierly dismissed it along with the Madeiros confession, denying it was sufficient to set aside the verdict, about which he had been so triumphant.

"It's unsatisfactory not to have a clear-cut answer," D'Attilio says. "But that's all there is now." Whether Sacco and Vanzetti's innocence can ever be proved, however, their role in history seems secure as the 50th anniversary of their executions approach. In spite of the verdict of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts they are recalled around the world as inspirational examples.

Bartholomeo Vanzetti understood and expressed this most eloquently. "If it had not been for this thing, I might have live out my life talking at street corners to scornful men. I might have die, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man, as now we do by an accident. Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph."

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

A solution to the health care crisis?

At the United Auto Workers convention in Los Angeles in May, President Carter got a prolonged standing ovation when he mentioned national health insurance in his speech to the delegates. The mention had not been in his original text but was hastily added after Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) made a moving speech on the subject—a speech that the White House had tried to prevent. The response of the delegates who were, or represented, relatively better paid industrial workers demonstrated the depth of feeling that exists among working Americans on the subject of health and on the inadequacy and terrible expense of the current “system” of care. It also indicated the reluctance of the administration to act on the people's behalf on this issue, except when forced to move by popular pressure.

In large part, popular desire for a national health service, for some kind of socialized medicine, is the result of the disproportionately rapid rise in the cost of health care in recent decades. Total non-governmental expenditures for personal health services in 1975 were a staggering \$68.6 billion, more than a threefold increase over the amount spent in 1960. And in 1976, more than one dollar in every 12 of our gross national product went for health services, almost double the proportion of 25 years earlier. All this in the face of cutbacks in hospital services and staffs, closing of clinics and consolidations of facilities that leave the poorer sectors of the population without access to care except in the most dire emergencies.

This does not mean there is no public sector of medical care in the U.S. On the contrary, some 80 million Americans are eligible to receive health care under one government program or another. In fact, the complex web of federal, state and local appropriations and programs, administered by dozens of agencies in compliance with statutes enacted over decades and reflecting changing social and political pressures is in large part responsible for the deterioration in the quality of care and for rising costs.

The existing system has failed to provide substantially equal, quality care at a reasonable social or individual cost for many reasons. Among them are:

- The use of fee-for-service pay to physicians and other health care providers.
- The absence of incentives to encourage providers to deliver or utilize health resources efficiently.
- Inflationary reimbursement systems that encourage waste and unnecessary procedures while paying out for drugs, equipment and facilities at monopolistic prices set in the private sector.
- The failure to develop effective controls over the supply and distribution of health services.
- The lack of mechanisms to ensure public accountability of health care institutions.
- The profit motive and excessive political influence of a small number of self-interested groups.
- The lack of incentives to provide preventive and occupational health services.

Aside from the idea of cutting back on hospital services, the Carter administration has no health program. But, if it follows the pattern set in welfare, energy and food stamps it will likely continue the policy of simply financing care for selected population groups. Kennedy and others, on the other hand, would expand the government role through a national insurance program that would cover most, or all, of the population. But neither plan would solve the existing problems because neither could assure timely delivery of appropriate services and medi-



Mortality Row

Jim Ignatius '77

The Dellums bill for a national health service is a major departure from other proposals for national health service.

cine at a reasonable cost nor the rational distribution of health service personnel throughout the country. In order to achieve those goals, and to ensure democratic control of health care a decentralized public health service will be required.

The Dellums bill.

Unlike the health insurance plans that would simply subsidize the existing “system” of care, Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D-CA) has introduced a Health Service Act (HR-6394) that would provide comprehensive, community based health services with progressive national financing. The Dellums bill challenges the various other proposals that would impose more controls from the top over an essentially uncontrollable and chaotic private system. And it offers a chance to move toward a democratically planned, community controlled, nationally financed health service, one that could guarantee high quality health services in every community.

The Dellums Health Service Act would establish a U.S. Health Service Organization as a non-profit corporation mandated to provide comprehensive health services, including occupational health advocacy services, without charge to everyone in the U.S.

The Health Service Organization would be governed from below through a process of “community federalism” that would parallel the health care delivery structure.

The basic governing bodies would be elected community health boards, communities being defined as geographic areas containing 25,000 people (less for isolated rural areas). These local boards would oversee the provision of primary outpatient health care as well as nursing homes and other multi-service community facilities.

District hospitals, one for each 250,000 people, would be overseen by District health boards, also elected from the population served. And, in turn, these district boards would choose members of regional boards to oversee more specialized medical centers.

Under the Dellums bill, funding of these health care services would be through a special progressive federal income tax, a system that would cost low and middle income working people much less than they now spend on medical care. The money would be equally distributed on a per capita basis to the various levels of health service.

The provisions for a system of prepaid health care with community-based budgeting, staffed by salaried doctors, nurses and other workers makes the Dellums bill a major departure from proposed systems of national health insurance. The other systems would simply subsidize, and perhaps partially plan the existing fee-for-service arrangements. The Dellums bill would allow communities to determine

their own health care needs, would provide uniform funding in all communities, and would allow democratic control and participation by all those desiring to involve themselves. To complete the program envisaged by the Dellums bill, it will be necessary ultimately to break the stranglehold of the American Medical Association over the medical profession, to expand substantially the number of medical schools, and to establish a publicly owned drug and medical equipment industry that will make their products available at cost. Nevertheless, the Dellums bill is a good beginning.

It should be no surprise that the Dellums bill has little chance of passage in this session of Congress. But even before the bill was introduced on May 4, the American Public Health Association, the 50,000-member organization of public health workers, and the United Electrical Workers had both gone on record in favor of the principles embodied in the bill. In addition, the Gray Panthers, a senior citizens organization, has declared its support.

We urge our readers to support the Dellums bill (HR-6394) by writing to your Representative in Congress, or to Dellums. Those wanting more information can write to Health Service Action, P.O. Box 6586, T Street Station, Washington, DC 20009.

Letters

Idiotic

Editor:

In his July 6-12 article John Judis claims that the left and gay movement mistakenly believe the anti-gay campaign appeals only to right-wingers. He suggests that it's a mistake for the gay movement to demand gay rights because anti-gay voters don't care about gay rights. They vote against gay rights because they see gay life styles as a threat to family life.

The claim is idiotic. The left and gay movement fears the anti-gay campaign *precisely because* it appeals to a majority of Americans—or may.

The suggestion is likewise idiotic. So far as homosexuality (like Jewishness or blackness) is a political problem, it is a problem about human rights. To secure rights for a politically oppressed group, you have to convince the rest of society that it is *wrong* to deny those rights, even if they do not like the oppressed group. Martin Luther King did not offer psychotherapy to the racially prejudiced; he demanded rights for blacks. Making the demand for gay rights the center of the gay movement was not a political mistake; it was a necessity—and it still is a necessity.

—Peter Eggenberger
Davis, Calif.

John Judis replies: Eggenberger should reread my column. My point was that anti-gay sentiment cuts across party and political lines. The gay movement should, of course, demand gay rights, but should

do so in a way that addresses the concerns of anti-gays and doesn't simplistically label them as "fascists" or "right-wingers."

Great work

Editor:

IN THESE TIMES is a splendid weekly—informative to a very high degree, news-analyzed, literate. Keep up the great work.

The idea of each reader recommending ten friends is good. See I'm for it.

—M.J. Lipschutz
New York City

Opportune time

Editor:

The appearance of a non-rhetorical socialist paper comes at an opportune time in America. Folks are starting to experience a few hunger pains and they don't like it.

—Donald H. Wilson
Meadville, Pa.

No perversions

Editor:

There seems to have been a serious shortage of niggling letters in the *ITT* letter-column of late. Not only does this make for dull reading but it leaves me no choice but to over-react to the actual contents of the paper instead of sniping at your more spectacularly illogical letter-writers. A sorry state of affairs indeed.

As a chauvinist logician (I don't want to be a chauvinist, logic keeps thrusting it upon me...) I found a half-sentence in Roberta Lynch's recent column on Porro and Power that confused my fevered brow. Roberta proffers the vision of a Socialist society that would not simply seek

to repress its "more dangerous perversions." All well and good—no complaints there. However, the question is raised, since there seemingly *are* perversions in the sexual area, with sadism and child porn apparently being two of the *more* perverse, what are the "lesser" perversions that are not as disturbing? And ultimately what is the norm against which these perversions are measured?

To answer my own question, perhaps what is implied is that there are no sexual perversions, per se, but only perverse power-relationships (master/slave, exploitation of the vulnerable child, etc.) Yes? No?

—J. Fred Muggs
San Francisco

Alternative Politics Conference

Editor:

David Moberg's article on the Alternative Public Policies Conference (*ITT*, July 20) highlighted the main questions facing that vital and important network of political activists. But Moberg may have distorted the general orientation of the conference's participants by quoting one woman's workshop question on how to run "people-oriented campaigns without sounding anti-business."

In fact, the conference opened with a speech by Pat Roach, Dayton city councilwoman, who identified big business as the enemy of the nation's cities to enthusiastic applause. The problem, articulated early in the conference by Berkeley city councilwoman Loni Hancock, is how to oppose business interests without losing?

The historical reality that plagues the Conference is that alternative policy only goes so far. Candidates and initiatives around the country associated with its brand of "sewer socialism" were beaten by a business offensive in the last year.

There is a growing need for organizational and strategic development beyond a loose network that exchanges ideas about policy alternatives.

Moberg is right to point to Tom Hayden and Michael Ansara's presentations as opening these issues for the conference. But there were other instances: Barney Frank's proposal that we begin now to build an opposition to Carter in 1980, "even if we don't go through with it." Nick Carbone's sense of the elements of urban political coalitions and how to construct them.

The complexity of developing a political strategy that moves beyond localism and that extends its influence to include more elements of the labor movement and minority movements without jeopardizing the position of many of the local officials in the Conference network is enormous. The Conference's slow and tentative efforts may be among the best hopes for the left today.

—Nick Rabkin
Organizational Secretary, NAM
Chicago

[Moberg replies: The tension among participants at the conference was that, faced with strong business opposition, some would try to build a stronger coalition to take on the corporations directly and win, while others would back off from their attack in order to mollify business opposition. The latter choice is a road back into the swamp of Peanut Butter Politics as now practiced on the Potomac.]

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

DIALOG

A challenge to "left hypocrisy" on abortion

Your recent editorial, "Abortion: what about life after birth?" (*ITT*, July 12) is more intelligent and sensible than most of the liberal/radical press samplings on the issue, but I still disagree. I want to dispel the implied characterization of prolife supporters and activists as fascist neanderthals in league with the Ku Klux Klan, Anita Bryant, Barry Goldwater, and the imperial segment of the Roman Catholic church's hierarchy.

The hypocrisy of most radicals on the issue of abortion never ceases to amaze me. The typical arguments about "deprived" and unwanted children betray an arrogant, elitist, condescending, and class-bound attitude towards the poor: namely, that the life of the poor and the unwanted is simply not worthwhile. But many great men and women (from Harriet Tubman to Malcolm X) have emerged from "abused" and "deprived" backgrounds.

The unsaid propositions underlying such a perspective reflect a poor opinion of humanity, one that inherently denies the possibility of a man or woman overcoming the oppression and degradation imposed by our sick capitalist society. This, in turn, denies all that is good in

human beings and everything that inspires hope for a new and better world.

A consistent stance in support of basic human rights demands courageous opposition to abortion (which is simply another form of infanticide) as well as opposition to nuclear genocide, militarism, racism, sexism, and the exploitation of wage labor. I am arguing for mature and disciplined human responsibility for *all* human life. If we really believe in social and collective responsibility, it is time to accept the consequences of *all* our actions (sexual as well as political) that affect other human beings.

Once a human life is created, one must do everything possible to ensure it the best chance to achieve its full potential. But the individual has a personal responsibility as well as a collective responsibility to ensure such a good life (the latter being achieved through political struggle).

Since *Roe vs. Wade*, abortion has promoted an increasingly calloused attitude toward the sanctity and dignity of every human life. Something is terribly wrong when abortions (many of them the third, fourth, or fifth for one woman) begin to outnumber childbirths.

The argument that the prohibition of abortion would "impose a religious conviction by state action" is ludicrous on its face. We as a society impose many responsibilities on ourselves through the rule of law on the basis of collective "moral" or "religious" convictions. Legislation punishing murder "coerces" people whose personal views may not consider human life (at any stage of its development) worthy of protection.

We should not allow, encourage, or support irresponsible and systematic extermination of human life through legal abortions. As to the dangers of continued illicit abortions, we as a people are under no obligation to provide a safe and comfortable refuge for people to commit infanticide with our collective

support and consent.

In a truly equalitarian society, an individual is not "free" to act according to his/her personal moral code in such a way as to violate the basic rights of other human beings (especially the helpless). In an equalitarian society we have obligations and responsibilities as well as rights.

To turn around a phrase used in your editorial, the dignity of a person after birth is thus impossible without protection of basic human rights before birth. As Che Guevara once said, "It is easier to kill a revolutionary in the womb than it is in the mountains."

—Michael Stone
St. Louis, Mo.

Perhaps Kinoy was not merely grasping at straws

In your reply to Arthur Kinoy's resignation from *ITT* sponsorship (July 13) you profess your agreement with the belief of the late UE leader James Matles that the working people of this country need a "mass political party of their own." You further assert that the "disagreement, if there is any (and as far as Matles is concerned we can never know) is over how to achieve that goal."

Your attempts to smooth over the contradictions in your position raised by Kinoy's objections on this point should not go unchallenged. Matles certainly believed that working people needed a party, "a mass political party of their own" (emphasis added). But by no stretch of the imagination should this be construed to mean a more "progres-

sive" version of the Democratic party. Matles himself emphasized this very point in his farewell address before the 40th International Convention of the UE in San Francisco in September, 1975, five days before his death:

"If the CIO was not split, if the CIO was not wrecked by the corporations and their flunkies in Congress, and if the labor leadership had not caved in and crawled on its belly, this country would be in different shape today. For one thing, by this time we would have a labor party in America. That's what we would have had. (Applause)"

"...Today we have two great big company unions in America: A Republican company union and a Democratic company union. That's a new standard."

"...Don't let anyone get up and talk about one company union being better than the other. They are all lousy."

Not grasping at straws.

In light of the above, perhaps you'll agree that Kinoy was not merely grasping at straws when he cited Matles in support of his position. Your assertion that we'll never know how Matles felt about the question is a bit rash, I think, as is your statement that "after almost 40 years as a leader of UE, however, his union members show no increased signs of socialist consciousness." The condescension inherent in this statement is more than a little irritating, considering that you are referring to the most progressive rank-and-file democratic union in the U.S. Pray tell, just what are these "increased signs of socialist consciousness?" A subscription to *In These Times*, perhaps?

Political realities being what they are, the UE does not feel constrained to highlight the "socialist" aspects of its program in contrast to its general purpose as a union defending the interests of working people. *ITT* editors should be able to appreciate this point, having themselves removed any reference to socialism from the cover of *ITT*. I suggest taking a look at the UE legislative program, reading a few issues of the *UE News*, examining their literature for political education, and experiencing

Continued on page 18.

James Aronson

The press in Middle America: Don't underestimate the boondocks

Media watchers tend to train their field glasses on the big coastal cities, or the District of Columbia. The focus is generally clear, the reports sometimes murky with repetition. Concentrating on the *New York Times*—because I live in New York and the *Times* is the standard-bearer of the nation's press—there are occasions when I feel like that editor of a small-town New Jersey newspaper who, when he was too lazy to write an editorial, would clip one from the *New York Times*, reprint it, and headline the reprint: "What Does the *New York Times* Mean by This?"

Let us then, for this watch, turn to Middle America. Never mind that the stories are sad. A little history and a little hope go a long way. And, to my mind, the stories are ultimately encouraging.

★ History

It was the Time of the Toad. The year was 1953 and McCarthy was riding high. Joe was in Boston denouncing Harvard as a "privileged sanctuary" for subversives. Joe was in New York receiving an ovation from 6,000 cops at a Communion breakfast blessed in person by Cardinal Spellman.

But in Sauk City, Wisc., the editor of the local newspaper was collecting signatures on petitions, under Wisconsin law, to recall their junior senator. The editor's name was Leroy Gore, and he described himself as a "thoroughly respectable, smug Republican." He dubbed his Campaign "Joe Must Go," and, as he wrote later in a book with the same title, he was threatened with murder, kidnapping of his children, and shipment of the whole family to "the Russian salt mines." When Gore approached, Wisconsin's Democratic party

and union leaders ran for the woods.

Yet in 60 days, the time allowed for such a petition, Gore managed to collect 350,000 signatures from unintimidated Wisconsin voters; he needed 400,000 for a referendum. Gore scorned the liberal proposition that McCarthy's ends were acceptable, but his means were not. He held that the House Un-American Committee's Harold Velde and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee's William Jenner, Alcoholic of Indiana, were even worse than Joe.

Gore was a dangerous example for the nation. That's why a local restaurateur was put up to organizing a "Door for Gore" campaign. Readers of his paper and advertisers were threatened and intimidated, Gore was indicted on rigged charges under the Corrupt Practices Act, sold his paper, and had to turn to public relations to keep his family in food.

Two months ago, Leroy Gore died in Sauk City. He outlived Joe physically by 20 years and spiritually by 200. The most common headline above his obituary read:

LEROY GORE, ENEMY
OF MCCARTHY, DIES

I think editor Gore would have passed that head.

★

The time was 1969. The protest against the war in Southeast Asia was at its peak. The "underground press" was flourishing. In Port Washington, Wisc., William F. Schanen Jr., editor and publisher of the *Ozaukee Country Press* and two other newspapers, was printing, under job contract, the underground newspaper *Kaleidoscope* of Madison. He had nothing to do with its contents. "I don't agree with a lot

of it," he said, "but what are we supposed to do, get rid of everything we don't like?"

Why yes, said Benjamin Grob, a wealthy Grafton industrialist whose office wall supported a large picture of the late Sen. McCarthy, that's precisely what we should do. Grob organized an advertising boycott against Schanen's newspapers to force him to drop the *Kaleidoscope* job. Schanen refused. He had to sell two of his newspapers, but in the page-one ear of the *Country Press* he affixed the slogan: "The paper that refused to die."

A Grafton warehouse where Schanen stored his rolls of newsprint was burned to the ground. The FBI came around—not to investigate the fire but to harass Schanen. Professional journalism groups showered Schanen with awards, but little help. The boycott held, but Schanen stood firm despite the personal and financial pressures.

The *Ozaukee Country Press* kept its pledge: it did not die, but Schanen did, of a heart attack in March 1971. He was 57.

★

The time is Summer 1977. The place is Lansing, Mich. The man is John T. McGoff, whose companies own eight Michigan dailies and 40 weeklies in several states. McGoff recently had hired to head his Panax newspaper chain's New York bureau one George Bernard, former staff member of the *National Enquirer* and press agent for CBS Radio News. He had departed both under unpleasant circumstances.

For a lusty start, Bernard wrote two articles for McGoff—one saying that President Carter condoned affairs with other women by his male staff, the other suggesting that Carter was grooming his wife



Rosalyn to become Vice President. McGoff sent the articles to all his newspapers with a "Must Print" order.

His editors dutifully obeyed—all, as far as can be determined, except two. In Marquette, Robert N. Skuggen, editor of the *Mining Journal* (circ. 19,000) said: "That type of journalism I can't stomach. I wouldn't be able to shave in the morning." In Escanaba, David A. Rood, editor of the *Daily Press*, was equally nauseated. He said Bernard's articles were "full of half-truths, insinuations and every other innuendo you can think of."

McGoff, however, thought the articles were "breezy" and added "pizzazz" to the papers. In the third week of June he fired both editors for disobeying orders. The firing notices said they had demonstrated "provincial attitudes."

★

Gore, Schanen, Skuggen and Rood. The names read like the frosted glass on the door of a prestigious Wall Street Law firm; but it's doubtful anyone on the roster ever stepped foot on Wall Street, except perhaps as a sightseer. Next time some one in Los Angeles or New York scoffs at the heartland or the quality of its journalism, make them listen to the tales of these honest-to-Jefferson newspapermen—and tell them not to be so provincial.

James Aronson, a regular contributor to ITT, is professor of journalism at Hunter College. A founder with Cedric Belfrage of the *National Guardian*, he reports that Columbia University Press has accepted for publication a history of that newspaper that he wrote with Belfrage.

Staughton Lynd

Labor and The Law: The right to protest danger

In non-unionized workplaces, the National Labor Relations Board and the courts have held a variety of activities to be protected by Section 7. Where there is no established grievance procedure, employees may stop work and approach their employer's representative to present grievances. They may walk out to protest unsafe conditions. (The United States Supreme Court said so in *NLRB v. Washington Aluminum Co.*, 370 U.S. 9.) They may sit down and refuse either to return to work or to leave the plant before the end of the shift in protest against the discharge of fellow workers.

When workers establish a union they lose these rights. The theory of the Board and the courts is that when you have a union, you should no longer need to strike, to slow down, to sit down, to walk out, to picket; instead you should use the grievance procedure. The Supreme Court recently blessed this approach in a case that involved the Emporium Capwell department store in San Francisco. Black workers employed by Emporium Capwell felt they were being discriminated against. They approached the union which offered to process their grievances individually. The black workers declined: they considered their problem to be a group grievance and wanted it handled that way. Finally two of the black workers called for a consumer boycott in leaflets they passed out to customers. They did so on a Saturday morning, on their "own time," and on a public sidewalk. There was no violence or obstruction of entrance. Nevertheless, the store fired the two workers and the Supreme Court refused to reinstate them. The Court said they should have gone through the grievance procedure.

Safety.

But the "do it now, grieve later" approach breaks down when it comes to safety. When the roof of a mine starts to go there is no time to file a grievance.

The Supreme Court stubbornly tried to apply its ideas to safety problems in a case called *Gateway Coal Co. v. United Mine Workers*, 414 U.S. 368 (1974). Certain supervisors for a mining company were found to have falsified ventilation inspections required by the government. The supervisors were suspended, then rehired. Upon their return to work the miners struck.

The case for the miners was the more compelling because there was no no-strike clause in their contract. However, there was a clause in which the union promised to submit problems to binding arbitration through the grievance procedure. The Court found that the arbitration clause gave rise to an implied no-strike clause. The Court also disregarded Section 502 of the Wagner Act, which states: "Nor shall the quitting of labor by an employee or employees in good faith because of abnormally dangerous conditions for work at the place of employment of such employee or employees be deemed a strike." The Court concluded that Section 502 protects a work stoppage over safety only when the strikers can produce objective evidence of an imminent danger.

Justice Douglas, indignant and alone, dissented. The words of Section 502, he stated, "recognize in the law what is in any case an unavoidable principle of human behavior: self preservation.... 'Men are not wont to submit matters of life or death to arbitration'."

Wrong-headed.

Gateway Coal is so inhuman and wrong-headed a decision that other decision-makers appear to be quietly disregarding it. Following Section 502 rather than the Supreme Court in *Gateway*, they hold that a safety strike is protected if the strikers can show that they had a reasonable belief that they were in imminent danger.

For instance, the Department of Labor has issued Interpretative Rule 1977.12 (b)(2) that states that under the Occupational Safety and Health Act an employee may refuse to perform an assigned task if the employee's apprehension is of such a nature that a reasonable person, under the circumstances then confronting the employee, would have concluded that there is a real danger of death or serious injury and there is insufficient time, due to the urgency of the situation, to eliminate the danger through resort to regular statutory enforcement channels."

In a Michigan case in federal court, the employer objected to this rule, arguing that when Congress passed OSHA it rejected a provision to authorize workers to refuse unsafe work without loss of pay. True, said the Court, but that doesn't prevent workers from refusing unsafe work without pay as in any other strike: this they have a right to do.

Reasonable belief.

A majority of arbitrators also apply the "reasonable belief" rather than the "objective danger" test. Here are two examples you can cite when you file a grievance under your contract to protest a discharge for refusal to do unsafe work.

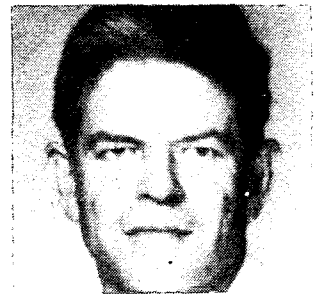
In *West Airlines, Inc.*, decided in Sep-

tember 1976 by a three-man board of arbitration, the grievant was a tow operator at an airport whose job was to move airplanes from the gate to the taxi line. Past practice, and the company's manual, established that for safety reasons this was a two-man job. The grievant was discharged for insubordination when he refused to do it alone. The arbitration board reinstated him on the ground that the company's disregard of the established practice created an "increased potential for harm."

In *North American Coal Corp.*, decided in April 1977 by arbitrator Samuel Perry, 68 LA 720, miners entered the mine by a "portal slope" 890 feet long with a grade of 18.5 degrees. Ordinarily they were assisted in ascending and descending by a ski-tow. One morning during shift change the ski-tow chain came off the sprocket, tearing away parts of the channel guides. The grievant, a Mine Health and Safety Committeeman, concluded that the condition was an "imminent danger" and shut down the slope. When government inspectors looked over the situation and found no imminent danger, the company sought to have the committeeman fired.

The arbitrator rejected the company's argument that because the committeeman might have guessed wrong as to the danger he could be discharged. The committeeman was protected because he could "genuinely or reasonably have believed" in the danger.

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and antiwar activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. Readers interested in corresponding directly with Lynd can write him at 1694 Timbers Ct., Niles, OH 4446.



LIFE IN THE U.S.

MacArthur is an historical lie

By Norman Markowitz

MacArthur, the recently released wide screen Hollywood epic, has much to do with the current neo-Cold War campaign in American politics. By distorting recent military and political history the film seeks to glorify past American heroism and individualism—presented in their least populist and democratic pose (Gregory Peck's somber, Shakespeare quoting, patriarchal MacArthur) and posed against their natural opposition, portrayed in the form of dishonest and vacillating politicians (a foppish, treacherous Roosevelt and a wisecracking, small-minded Truman) who negotiate with evil and lack the courage and the vision to lead.

Unlike George C. Scott's Patton, who frankly loved war and invited you to take him or leave him, Peck's MacArthur is a lonely hero who abhors war and, in windy "Flanders Field" rhetoric, preaches a code of "duty, honor, country." He presents this code to a West Point class at the beginning of the film, and he brandishes it throughout—from the battles in the South Pacific to the occupation and reconstruction of Japan to the Korean War.

Beginning in 1942 with an idealized portrait of MacArthur forced to leave his men on Corregidor at Roosevelt's order, the film dishonestly gives the corn-cob pipe smoking general the lion's share of the credit for the Pacific island-hopping strategy conceived largely by Admiral Nimitz and the navy, and carried out mostly by the navy and marines.

In Japan MacArthur is shown dedicating himself with Yoshida and Hirohito to peace, and bringing what a fellow officer calls a "New Deal" to the country by breaking up big monopolies and estates, and creating a labor movement and a parliament. Japanese labor leaders, especially socialists and communists, would be surprised and Japanese capitalists amused at this reading of occupation history.

One of the most dangerous men.

The film also fails to describe the ultra-right elements in the U.S. that identified so strongly with MacArthur and sought to push him for the presidency in 1944, 1948 and 1952.

These elements were to play a significant role in the creation of the John Birch Society in the late 1950s and in the agitation for the most extreme forms of political repression at home and anti-Communist foreign policy initiatives abroad.

But in a subtle and effective way, the viewpoint of these elements is expressed through the film.

The Philippines, for example, are treated more like a sovereign ally than an American colonial possession—as Filipino puppet governors are called "presidents" and Filipino soldiers are pictured as looking to MacArthur in Tonto-like fashion as he risks his life to preserve his country's honorable commitment to them.

In one especially striking scene, a courtly MacArthur is shown confronting an oily Roosevelt with the President's own statement that he would not abandon the Philippines. "The country has matured, changed," FDR tells MacArthur afterward. "My values never change," the general replies, and in the context one can only identify with him against the fun-loving aristocrat.

Although Roosevelt's (and later, more effectively, Truman's) jokes at MacArthur's expense are recounted in the film, there is no mention of Roosevelt's famous comment in 1934 that MacArthur, along with Huey Long, was one of the two most dangerous men in America. Indeed, MacArthur's whole pre-World War II history—his playing man on horseback with teargas and fire against the Bonus Marchers' encampment at Anacostia Flats in

The recently released *MacArthur* ignores the MacArthur who burned down the camps of the bonus marchers—the World War I veterans who marched on Washington in 1932 to demand their bonuses (right). It portrays MacArthur as a lonely hero who abhorred war.



1932, and his prewar role in the colonial Philippines is wholly ignored.

When MacArthur invokes history, it is mostly to establish continuity between his own militarism and the American tradition by quoting the wisdom of his father, General Arthur MacArthur, a commander of the American occupation forces in the conquest of the Philippines at the turn of the century.

It is the America of Arthur MacArthur, the film implies—which won the civil war and defeated Geronimo by attacking, by "fighting like hell" when flanked on three sides—that Douglas MacArthur embodies.

MacArthur has the franchise on Americanism throughout the film, an anti-democratic Americanism that allows him to fight wars for national honor and peace, defy presidents to protect the right of military professionals to "defend" the Constitution, and impose his private, brooding genius on the battlefields of the Pacific and Korea.

At its best, the film represents an American version of Gaullist nationalism, at its worst and carried to its logical extremes, the conceptions of "duty, honor, country" that most usually characterize fascist juntas.

Many contemporary critics of the Korean war—I.F. Stone most notably—and revisionist scholars today view with suspicion MacArthur's meetings with Syngman Rhee on the eve of the crisis and suggest his active role in distorting news of events in Korea helped to widen (if not actually provoke) the general conflict. While these are debatable hypotheses, the film ignores them entirely to glorify MacArthur's Inchon landing (authentically his greatest

military triumph), excuse implicitly his blunder in failing to take seriously the possibility of Chinese intervention, and dramatize the adulation of the nation after his recall by Truman.

The film reduces to minor key Truman's criticisms of MacArthur's insubordination and the danger of world war developing out of his Korean tactics. It plays up instead MacArthur's vision of his own and the nation's destiny. It portrays MacArthur's enemies as quibbling over his tactics and distrusting his pretensions.

Dishonest history.

MacArthur is dishonest and atrocious history. It identifies patriotism and the nation's past with a rightwing patrician and chauvinist sense of duty and destiny. Yet, it is a powerful propaganda film, a counterpoint to the blue-jeaned pseudo-populism of Jimmy Carter, much as MacArthur himself served as a counterpoint to the twangy pseudo-populism of Truman.

With excellent locales, fine closeup photography, and Gregory Peck giving the performance of his life, the film will appeal to an audience whose hardcore begins with the followers of Ronald Reagan and George Wallace, and whose periphery extends to Jimmy Carter Democrats.

The real life MacArthur, more vain and hammy than Peck portrays him, would probably have had mixed feelings about the whole affair—happy that the American people were finally seeing him as he saw himself and jealous of the fact that Gregory Peck and not he had accomplished the feat.

The real MacArthur, however, would

have enjoyed noticing that the film opened at Radio City Music Hall, America's grandest movie palace, on the eve of the Fourth of July weekend. He would have also admired the elegant crowd that attended the film's preview and the subsequent party at the Waldorf Ballroom. Among the celebrities were Generals Westmoreland and Goodpastor, New York Governor Hugh Carey and ex-Mayor Robert Wagner, Henry Kissinger and Frank Sinatra, Clare Boothe Luce and Helen Gurley Brown.

It was a gathering of the armed and the jeweled, a union of prosperous chauvinism and cafe society marred only by a group of leftist pickets at the preview who were restrained by the police and videotaped by the local television news cameras.

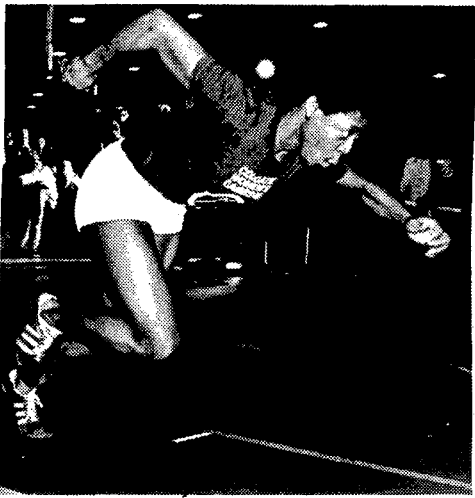
MacArthur, no doubt, would have treated the pickets with the same dispatch he reserved for the Bonus Marchers, and then announced to the approving audience that he had saved Rockefeller Center from Communism. An upper-class audience is perhaps the only one that could fully appreciate what MacArthur symbolized and fought for, which, after all, was both their tangible class interests and an idealized version of themselves.

For the great mass of Americans, though, *MacArthur* is merely false consciousness in cinemascope and stereophonic sound—a film that appeals to our worst sentiments in the name of some of our best, and offers service to our worst enemies in the name of "duty, honor, country."

Norman Markowitz teaches history at Rutgers.

SPORTS

Now, for the woman sports consumer



By Anita Diamant

What do you get when you cross *Sports Illustrated* and *Ms.*? *womenSports* is one of those new, slick magazines designed for "today's" women and girls. Features include pieces about women athletes past and present, the state of the sports as practiced by women, a "Score Board" news-in-brief section (*Ms.* "Gazette" style), beautiful action photographs in arresting color and generally a pervasive tone of liberal optimism that the sexual inequalities of sport and society are on the path of the dinosaur.

womenSports accentuates the positive. And, in fact, it's hard not to enjoy articles and pictures of strong, skillful and beautiful women doing things faster, better and more gracefully than ever before. Things are getting better, right?

Turn the page and they're selling diamond rings (marriage), hair coloring (individuality), cigarettes (!), sports hardware and software (shoes, books, balls, rackets). Nothing describes a magazine as well as its ads.

womenSports reflects a new "market" of young-thinking women with money to spend on both sporting paraphernalia and "femininity." As one beauty ad put it, "When you're really active in sports, it's almost impossible not to feel younger... But perhaps you don't look that way."

In the July *womenSports* a long article about the Colgate Women's Games (ITT, June 15) good-naturedly accommodates the advertising basis for the event as inevitable. "When big business enters sports, it's still big business."

The games involved 17,000 girls and women in what is described as a constant procession of run, sit, run, sit, run... Issues of racial tension and competition are handled with the usual finesse of the press: they are ignored.

Most of the competitors were black, inner-city kids from New York City and Jer-

sey City. Running, it is pointed out, is just about the only sport open to girls requiring no equipment or facilities. It also comes in handy on the streets. And to show just how minimal racial tensions are, one 13-year-old, presumably from one of the two expensive private schools represented, said her father told her not to worry about running against so many blacks. They're not all that fast.

The games are touted as an opportunity to improve skills and as a kind of cultural exchange between Brooklyn and the Bronx. Colgate offers college scholarships to the winners and a chance to be "seen," pointing a way out of the ghetto. (And into problematic college programs and clubs covered in another article in the same issue).

womenSports, however, trivializes the girls who compete in the Colgate games by minimizing the real problems and dangers they face. Outrunning junkies and muggers is not cute. And the not-so-subtle racism of "They're not all that fast" is another admission of the poverty of liberalism in general and liberal "feminism" in particular.

Competition as the normal, desirable way of life is never challenged. It is capitalized on.

The magazine taps a growing audience of women concerned with their health and

womenSports reflects a new "market" of women with money to spend on sporting goods and "femininity."

enjoying their bodies in non-traditional, concerted ways. That audience needs and seeks reinforcement and inspiration for its activities.

But in no way does *womenSports* offer and alternative vision of how sports by and for women might be different. Its concern is the growth of the sports industry to fully include women in its competitions and prizes, to offer full access to facilities and coaching, to realize respectability for women who compete as amateurs and, especially, as professionals.

The demand for equal access for women is certainly a valid and important position well articulated by *womenSports* and its publisher Billie Jean King. However a broader, more critical and more imaginative approach is still lacking. What would sports be like if they were not organized for profit? Can "competition" be redefined to be less destructive to sports participants? Can women and men compete on an equitable basis? What might that integration accomplish?

As it is, *womenSports* is working from well within the system for a bigger piece of the American sports pie. To that end it helps create media heroines who will, in the future, be available for advertisements that sell books, rackets, shoes and some body's corporate image.

Anita Diamant is a writer in the *area*.

Tennis with South Africa opposed

NEW YORK—"Sports Yes! Apartheid, No! Tennis with South Africa's Got to Go!" Some 200 people took that message to lunch-hour crowds on 42nd Street Aug. 4 as they picketed the headquarters of the U.S. Tennis Association in protest against that organization's continued support of South Africa's presence in the Davis Cup.

The demonstration, organized by ACCESS (American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society), had the air of a civil rights protest from the early '60s. Blacks and whites, young and old, clergymen, trade unionists and politicians all marched together with an easy solidarity that this writer hasn't seen in a long time.

The size of the crowd, and the presence

of several black dignitaries—borough president Percy Sutton, Judge William Booth, Rev. Timothy Mtchell of the National Council of Churches—seemed to shake up USTA officials.

At a meeting with an ACCESS delegation they claimed that they had never seriously considered the South Africa question before the demonstrations at the Davis Cup in April, and said they would discuss the issue fully at their executive committee meeting in September. They set up a meeting between the president of the USTA, W. Slew Hester, and ACCESS officials for Aug. 19 and requested that the group call off demonstrations scheduled for the U.S. Open at Forest Hills.

Later in the day, however, the protesters reaffirmed their plans for a demonstration at the Open, Sept. 10 and 11.

Given the Tennis Association's unrepresentative racial composition (its nine-person management committee is all white, as are 42 of its 43-member executive committee), ACCESS feels that only intensified political pressure will force the Association to change its position on the South Africa question.

ITT readers can help in this effort. People who want to participate in the demonstrations at the Open, or help organize them, should contact Gary Goodman c/o ACCESS, 777 U.N. Plaza, 11th Fl., New York, NY 10007.

—Mark Naison

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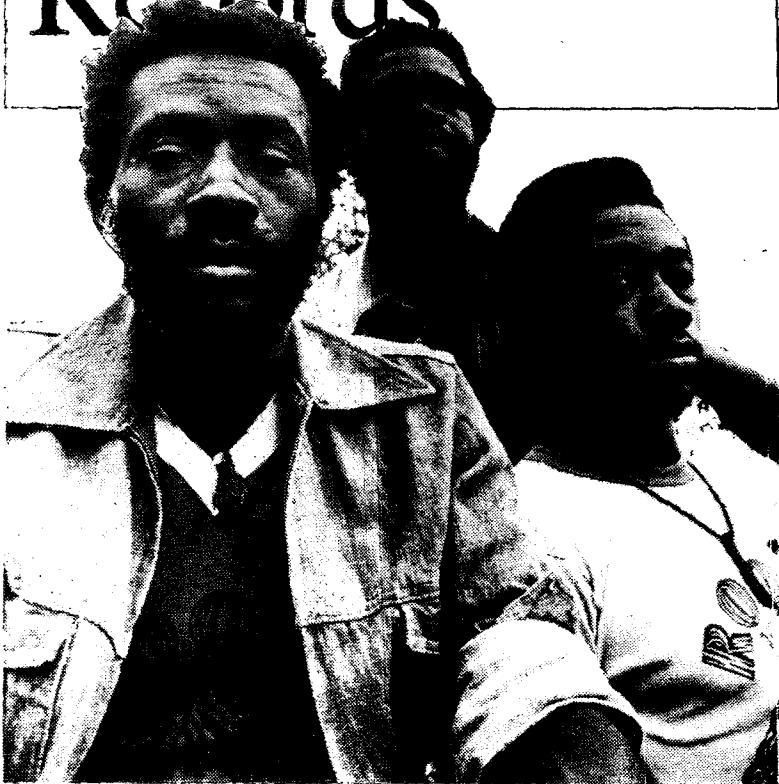
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ART & ENTERTAINMENT

Records



Dry and Heavy is probably Burning Spear's most accessible album for Americans.

DRY & HEAVY
Burning Spear
Mango Records

To get into Burning Spear you have to appreciate Winston Rodney's unorthodox vocal style. Singing in a high and thin voice and often using a chant-like manner, Rodney—the lead singer/composer/arranger/producer of Spear, is a vocalist unlike any I've ever heard.

Dry & Heavy, like Burning Spear's two previous albums released by the Mango/Island label, is distinguished by the creative interplay between Rodney's vocals, Delroy Hines and Rupert Willington's harmonies, and the brilliant horn and rhythm section made up of well-known Jamaican studio musicians. At various times guitars, horns or drums take over a song as Rodney moves into original and offbeat expressions that fully complement the instrumental parts. The melodic lines of the songs on *Dry & Heavy*, previously the weakest aspect of Rodney's songwriting, are generally quite good.

The group's name is taken from Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, who was known as "the Burning

Spear." Like Bob Marley and many other reggae musicians, Winston Rodney is a Rastafarian. His songs carry the message of social justice and promised retribution. "He who know the right and do it not shall be spank with many strife," goes a song entitled "Wailing."

But central to the songs on *Dry & Heavy* is a spirit of happiness in celebrating the solidarity of black people and of joy in contemplating the future. The album can be seen as extending the lyrical scope of Burning Spear beyond the emphasis on history in songs like "Marcus Garvey," "Old Marcus Garvey," and "Slavery Days," that first gained the group wide following in Jamaica.

Dry & Heavy is probably Burning Spear's most accessible album for North American audiences. It's the most attractive looking one they have released, and for the first time lyrics are provided—a necessity for those not conversant with Jamaican English. The band is terrific, the vocals unique, the songs original. If, as a songwriter, Winston Rodney has not yet produced anything as powerful or as beautiful as Bob Marley's best work, well who has?

—Bruce Dancis

Bruce Dancis is a regular contributor to In These Times.

NO NUKES/KAREN SILKWOOD

By Pat DeCou and Tex LaMountain
Rainbow Snake Music Company

Bronx. But when they are successful, I cannot get it done for 30,000 buildings throughout the city. There is really no commitment to even trying out the solutions that we have found work. MacNeil: If this is a racial/economic problem, and this is an expression of massive frustration for the failure to do what you said has not been done over the last 15 years, why does Mr. Williamson get ripped off?

Williamson: When I became visible, the looting in my store stopped. They only saw merchandise [that] was very saleable on the street. And that was the total answer because we have been programmed into believing that money is a cure-all. That's why I don't feel bitter about losing what I lost because I still have more than I had when I started.

MacNeil: If the lights went out

Two of the 1,414 people jailed in Manchester, N.H., for non-violent resistance to the construction of a nuclear power plant at Seabrook have put out a record which other Clamshell Alliance people refer to as the "anthems" of the movement.

One side of this 45 rpm lines out the basic contention of the Clamshellers that:

These reactors they're building are a giant hanging tree.

It is fairly explicit about placing blame:

But the darkness of its shadow gives us warning of the greed

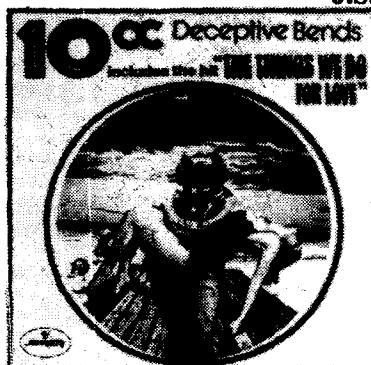
That tries to sell us more electric power than we need.

Musically it is, unfortunately, not the sort of thing that will replace "We Shall Overcome" as a marching song. At least, not as produced by these singer/songwriters.

The flip side is a crude but provocative ballad about the mysterious death of a lab technician who worked at the Kerr-McGee plutonium factory in Oklahoma in 1974. Karen Silkwood's story—the investigation she did for her union, of violations of safety standards and quality checks in the manufacture of plutonium fuel rods for "fast-breeder" reactors, and the disappearance of the material she was taking to show a *New York Times* reporter when her car swerved off the highway—has interested a broad spectrum of groups from the editors of *Rolling Stone* to the National Organization of Women.

This ballad is aimed at fueling and spreading that interest. It is being pushed by the "Supporters of Silkwood" (520 Butternut, NW, Washington, DC 20012). The record, all proceeds from which go to the Clamshell Alliance, may be ordered from Rainbow Snake Music, 94 N. Leverett Rd., Leverett, MA 01054.

—J.S.



DECEPTIVE BENDS

By 10cc
Mercury Records (SRM-1-3702)

These songs are broadsheets of modern sensibility. Equipped with lovely tunes and the most up-to-date production, they're bulletins

of alienation, jaunty reminders of the price we pay for pleasure.

If you don't listen to the lyrics (or read them on the inside cover), you'd think these bright tunes were just ditties and the album a collection of bright hooks and forgettable ironies. But if you listen and listen, after a while you realize that 10cc—especially in its leaders, Eric Stewart and Graham Gouldman—is carrying on a tradition of English satire that goes back to Jonathan Swift.

Stewart and Gouldman deal with the little guy, the fantasies of the average Joe, alternating between freedom and captivity. He's caught in a bind, trying to figure a way out and, when that's too challenging, a way in:

Alcatraz is like a home sweet home

I'm so wanted and I'm never alone

San Quentin is the place to be I'm so happy and I don't want to be free

So happy I don't wanna be free. (from "Good Morning, Judge")

The constant injection of ironic commentary into otherwise straightforward descriptions of

familiar situations is what makes 10cc interesting. There are only a few other groups that attempt this kind of rock.

And lest one forget the music, there's the ravishing "The Things We Do for Love" and the lucid "Feel the Benefit" with introduction that sounds like the Beatles' "Dear Prudence."

"Feel the Benefit" is a suite about the loss of wonder that marries sophisticated orchestral salon music to a child's version of the responsibility of adults. It moves from that theme to a funny takeoff on a sea cruise in some vague South, complete with maracas and bells, then back to the dreamy strains of the original.

At first *Deceptive Bends* is just catchy. Then it sneaks up, dazzling you with its complexity. Not only is it attractive, it's also intelligent, making you think about where and who you are. An album with the technical virtuosity of Muzak, it has a bite that spurs its artfulness to life.

—Carlo Wolff

Carlo Wolff is a reporter in Albany, N.Y.



In These Times prints detail and fact without burying the reader,

informs without shouting, and is important weekly reading for anyone who wants to know where change begins.

Julian Bond

NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

A report on the effort to reform the nation's labor laws; a look at the joys and tribulations of growing old; a report from Mervyn Jones on the split in the British Commun-

ist party, along with an interview with British Communist party head Gordon MacLennan; and an analysis of the coming battle in Congress over the Panama Canal treaty.

Looted Looters

Continued from page 24.

Baldwin: That is, if I may say so, a total lie....

Badillo: The unemployment rate is much higher today than it was in 1965... There is much greater poverty in all American cities, especially in the northern cities, than there was in 1965.

And the programs that worked during all of those years—my files are full of successful programs, but you cannot get them implemented on a mass basis... I can get a sweat equity program to get a gang of kids to rehabilitate three buildings in the South

again, one hot night next month, would this happen all over again?

Boy: If they just go off like that, maybe—most likely... But if they knew the lights was going to out it, it wouldn't happen that much because the young kids probably be scared that the people be waiting for them this time, you know Williamson: In other words, we're programmed to respond to fear; we are programmed to respond to the gun. But we're not programmed to self-respect.

MacNeil: I just want to ask: if this is not to happen again, what in your view as the politician among us, needs to be done?

Badillo: We need to have a commitment to bring about change in the areas that we know how to bring about change, so we can remove the poverty in this country. We know how to do it, and we know how to provide jobs.

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FILM

It's not as easy as it looks

**THE LAST REMAKE OF
BEAU GESTE**

Screenplay by Marty Feldman
and C.J. Allen
Directed by Marty Feldman
Starring Marty Feldman, with
James Earl Jones, Peter Ustinov,
Trevor Howard and Ann Margaret
Distributed by Universal, Rated
PG

JABBERWOCKY

Screenplay by Charles Alverson
and Terry Gilliam
Directed by Terry Gilliam
Starring Michael Palin
Distributed by Cinema V, Rated
PG

ALLEGRO NON TROPPO

Screenplay by Bruno Bozzetto,
Guido Manuli and Maurizio Nichetti
Directed by Bruno Bozzetto
Animators include Bozzetto and
Manuli
Distributed by Specialty Films,
Rated PG

FIRE SALE

Screenplay by Robert Kane
Directed by Alan Arkin
Starring Alan Arkin, Rob Reiner
and Sid Caesar
Distributed by 20th Century Fox,
Rated PG

Comedy—especially farce comedy, and most especially satirical farce comedy—is the Lorelei of the film medium, universally alluring, unrelentingly treacherous. Or, to change the figure, farce is not the sort of form you can fool around with.

There are four farce-comedies with satirical over- or undertones playing at first-run houses this summer. Two of them make it; two don't.

First (and best) is *The Last Remake of Beau Geste*, by Marty Feldman, the pop-eyed British comedian seen here most recently in Mel Brook's *Silent Movie*. Feldman wrote, directed and stars in *The Last Remake of Beau Geste*, which is just what it says—an outrageous parody on the blood-and-honor yarn that was a three-time winner in the 1920s and '30s.

The plot, which no longer bears much resemblance to the P.C. Wren novel from which it is loosely derived, takes its time about getting hero Digby Geste (Feldman) and his non-identical twin brother, Beau (played by Michael York) to the Sahara. There are complications about the sexy stepmother (Ann-Margaret) that father Geste brings home, a fabulous family sapphire, the Geste code of honor, and a

sadistic, one-legged FFL sergeant (Peter Ustinov).

And, of course, the situation vis-a-vis the enemy: this detachment of the Legion

is completely surrounded and outnumbered by unidentified, but hostile, camel-riding cavalry.

The military problem is solved by the declaration of a strike (for better living and dying conditions) by the beleaguered Legionnaires.

Minor complications are taken care of with similarly refreshing originality. Comic inventiveness rates high on Feldman's list of talents. (He is also a much finer actor than his eye-popping act might lead you to believe.) But what makes this remake a howling success is its satirical focus.

Feldman knows what he is making fun of, and he hangs in there from the lyrics of the marching song you may have to strain to hear under the opening titles, to the last interview between James Earl Jones (as an Arab chieftan out of a job) and a process-shot sheik from the Valentino era.

It all looks loose and free, but it is under the strictest and most logical of disciplines.

Almost the reverse must be said of *Jabberwocky*.

In this case responsibility for the finished film rests not with one person, but with the nuclear family that turns out BBC TV's Monty Python shows. Someone or someones decided to use Lewis Carroll's parody ballad from *Alice Through the Looking-Glass* as the springboard for a parody of something else. What that else is, is not clear, and that is one of the major troubles with the film.

In Carroll's poem, a beamish boy takes "his vorpal blade in hand" and goes out to look for a monster with "eyes of flame," kills it, cuts off its head and "comes galumphing back." In the film, an unbelievably stupid medieval peasant comes to a walled city that is besieged by a man-killing monster, to look for a better job opportunity. He wants to make his fortune and go home to claim the hand of the most repulsive female oaf ever set up as a screen sex object.

The boy (Michael Palin) has many misadventures, a lot of them involving being peed on, including a mismeeting with a princess who mistakes him for her prince. He accidentally (and unbelievably) kills the monster and is rewarded/punished by marriage to the princess.

There is plenty of comic inven-

tiveness in the Monty Python crowd, but none of the control that it takes to handle a farce in this length. The style swings wildly from realism to fantasy and back, which would be all right if there were a focus on something, as for instance, subject matter. But one never knows whether this is satirizing a romantic view of the Middle Ages (something Mark Twain did better in *Connecticut Yankee*) or modern corporate and governmental corruption, or the overuse of violence in "entertainment."

And that is another serious fault: the handling of violence as comedy. It is obviously meant to be funny when the princess and her father get progressively more blood-bespattered, watching the joust; or when an amorous squire is crushed to death under the bed of a tradesman he has cuckolded; or when an unemployed cooper cuts off his foot and uses it (for days) as alms bait. But it isn't.

There is a delicate balance involved in black humor that is constantly tipped the wrong way in *Jabberwocky*. A comparison with *Allegro non Troppo* is illuminating.

This Italian confection might have been entitled *The First Remake of Fantasia*, but that would account for only half of its charm. There are actually two films going on at once.

The framing story is an all-out comic attack on Disney (alias Priney) as an exploiter of his employees. The orchestra of *Allegro* is composed of hungry old women who storm the gates like mobs outside a factory. The animator is kept chained to the wall in an oubliette until needed. All maintenance work in the empty opera house that is used as a stage is done by a single, slender Cinderella. The conductor and producer eat gluttonously during intermissions while the hired hands grope for crumbs.

The musical-cartoon segments have almost nothing to do with the above. They are beautiful, imaginative, original, and more sophisticated than anything that ever came out of Disney's Burbank Bastille. Everyone will have his or her favorites. Mine are the copy-cats of the Dvorak Slavonic Dance and the Adam, Eve and serpent of Debussy's "Afternoon of a Faun."

The comic element in violence, handled so clumsily in *Jabberwocky*, is explored on both levels of *Allegro*. One instance is the sequence where one of the old women musicians is toppled from her seat by a champagne cork. The conductor runs around behind the bleachers to ask how she feels. "I feel all in pieces, maestro," she complains, while the camera holds on a frame containing her face, one foot and part of a leg, and various other "pieces." It is a visual pun and it gets a laugh, which it would not if it had been shot in color, close

Comedy—especially farce comedy—is not the kind of form you can fool around with.

up, with the severed ends of limbs exposed and oozing blood.

The last, and not the worst, of the four is Alan Arkin's *Fire Sale*. Here again a gifted actor is taking control, or what ought to be control. Arkin directs, acts, and has a hand in the screenwriting. But he is no Marty Feldman and he has bitten off more than he can get an audience to chew.

The lack of focus is apparent from the titles on. Segments of cartoon animation are interspersed for no discernible reason with "scenes"—e.g. Arkin, wrestling with a waterpick. (Since this is never tied in to the subsequent story-line, one has to assume it was found on the cutting-room floor and pieced in here to prime the laugh pump.)

The plot of *Fire Sale* is as complicated as a night-time soap. There is the storyline of father Pikus (Vincent Gardenia), owner of a failing department store in West Los Angeles, who is setting out for a vacation in Miami with his balmy and unflappable wife; there is the story of the elder Pikus son, (Rob Reiner, "Meathead" of *All in the Family*) who can't seem to free himself from the weight of his father's dominance and has very vocal asthma as a result; there is the story of the other Pikus son (Alan Arkin) who is trying to make it as a basketball coach, despite a team of born losers, fanatical fans and a wife who wants to adopt a baby.

And finally, there is Sid Caesar, as mother Pikus's brother Sherman, a mental patient in the L.A. Veterans Hospital, recruited by Pikus Sr. to burn down the store (for the fire insurance) under the illusion that he has an assignment from Eisenhower to destroy the headquarters of the German High Command. Caesar's performance is marvelous, but it belongs somewhere else. It's too real, too subtle, too good-humored for this "comedy blitz" in which insanity, angina pectoris and the wheeze of acute asthma are the well-springs of humor—along with some legitimate targets of satire like America's hypertension about high-school athletics, the venality of our over-equipped hospitals and the mores of memorials to the dead.

Come to think of it, *Fire Sale*, would have done very well as animated cartoon or a comic strip. What is wrong with the characters wouldn't show up in newsprint, and the flaws of the comic logic wouldn't matter if the whole were cut into enough small, disconnected parts.

—Janet Stevenson

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BOOKS

THE CONTROL OF OIL

By John M. Blair

Pantheon, New York, 1977, \$15

John Blair was an American populist. He spent his professional life trying to understand and then challenge the forces making for concentration. His conviction that modern technology invites decentralization in many sectors of the economy is in sharp contrast to the conventional wisdom that technological developments have made centralized control inevitable.

For Blair, effective antitrust action was the key to the restoration of a market economy that could offer the consumer adequate supplies at just prices. The need for big government, which in his view abets big business exploitation of the public, would be minimized. When he retired, Blair left file cabinets full of documents about technology and the modern corporation's quest for merger and monopoly, invaluable resource materials for political economists, whether or not they accept his conclusions.

The Control of Oil, published after his death, marshals his rich experience in studying the giant oil industry. It draws heavily on governmental reports and hearings in which he was involved:

- *The International Petroleum Cartel*, (FIC) of which he was the principal author. (Savagely attacked by the oil corporations, its release was postponed in the early '50s on the grounds of national security.)

- *Governmental Intervention in the Market Mechanism*, records of hearings by the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Philip Hart. These hearings were organized by Blair.

- Material assembled by the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee (under chairman Frank Church) on multinational corporations and U.S. foreign policy.

The Control of Oil summarizes the now familiar story of the industry's quest for control of domestic and overseas reserves and for "orderly marketing" to keep the flow of oil under its computerized thumb. There is pertinent, if not always conclusive data, defining the relationships between the corporations and the recently mobilized producing countries. OPEC and the "Seven Sisters" are seen to be supportive of one another's immediate interests in synchronizing the production of various countries so as to maintain "with exemplary precision" overall growth rates targeted by the corporations. Fear of the outsider—a company or country that might bypass the system and sell directly at discount prices to independent refiners—requires eternal vigilance, including the cooperation of a most amenable U.S. government.

Analyzing the "energy crisis of 1973-74" and the price explosion, Blair finds that "the majors must clearly bear the responsibility for curtailing supplies to the American private branders, for raising prices more than any increase in costs occasioned by the OPEC actions and for bringing about a curtailment in supply during the subsequent recession sufficient to maintain the price at its new and sharply higher level."

Blair also argues that higher prices have served neither to increase supply or to reduce demand in the past. He emphasizes how slow the industry is to introduce technological innovations. Accepting the claim that domestic (but not world) reserves are declining sharply, he calls for national

Behind the energy crisis—two views



Left: Dr. John M. Blair died in his sleep on Dec. 21, 1976, three weeks before the publication of his book, *The Control of Oil*. He had spent 32 years in federal service, 14 of them as chief economist for the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly subcommittee, under the chairmanships of Sen. Estes Kefauver and (later) Sen. Philip A. Hart. Blair had served earlier with the famous Temporary National Economics Committee (TNEC) in 1938, and on the Federal Trade Commission. Right: Robert Engler, author of *The Brotherhood of Oil*.

policies that will use technology to increase supply and reduce demand through such things as lighter weight and electric cars.

The best hope, Blair insists, rests with vigorous antitrust programs. There are no technological barriers to competition in oil, only the corporate drive for profit. Divorce, divestiture and dissolution could be used to break up the integrated companies' hold over other energy forms. In the international area, the American government should encourage independent search for crude supplies to take advantage of fissures in the mutuality of interest between the giants.

Blair's conclusions are the least valuable part of his work. They deny the evidence of economic power that he assembles. And the record of almost a century of antitrust attempts suggests that the first condition for success is the absence of modern industrial capitalism. The competitive model he calls for ignores the history of common interests pursued by presumed rivals. The non-integrated "small" companies often have been as venal as their larger brethren in viewing resources as objects of private plunder. Nor have they been slouches in contributing to the corruption of the political process.

Understandably skeptical about concentrated public power, Blair dismisses public ownership as a possible alternative. There is no recognition of the need to relate the planning of energy to the rest of the economy or planning for more just distribution, for global ecological consideration and for political accountability. His idealized self-operating economy omits any discussion of an active public politically organized to define and defend the public interest. The largely apolitical character of the analysis results, ironically enough, in the acceptance of the going system of power, dominated by the very corporate forces he devoted his public life to challenging.

Blair's recommendations are inadequate guides for public policy. But his dogged research, his passion as an economist in a profession that prides itself on its "scientific" cool, and his optimism about the outcome of the "next" battle were all-too-rare qualities. He will be missed.

—Robert Engler

Robert Engler is the author of *The Politics of Oil: A Study of Private Power and Democratic Directions*, 1961, and *The Brotherhood of Oil: Energy Policy and the Public Interest*, 1977.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF OIL: Energy Policy and the Public Interest

By Robert Engler

University of Chicago Press, 1977, \$12.50

Almost alone among nations the U.S. allows the law of wild animals (*res ferae*) to govern the empire of oil. The tiger in the tank belongs to whoever can capture him. Elsewhere in the world the oil deep in Mother Earth belongs to the nation. Why the vast reservoirs of oil and gas deposited by nature should be appropriated by corporations is, for the most part, an unasked and unanswered question, a triumph of corporate greed and control of the avenues of public information.

Robert Engler's *The Brotherhood of Oil* is a socialist's guide to the energy crisis. Written, of course, before President Carter's summons to all of us to "sacrifice," it nevertheless touches all the bases and proves quite conclusively that "all of us" does not include the \$132 billion petroleum giants. Come hell or high water, Arab boycotts or energy crises, the industry's river of profits just goes rolling along.

Engler has focussed his searchlight on the murky secrets of the major international firms that control our chief source of ener-

gy. He might have titled the book *The Sisterhood of Oil* in deference to the Seven Sisters that comprise the international petroleum cartel. But the term Brotherhood (something akin to the Godfatherhood of the Mafia) conveys the fraternal feeling of the major components of the industry. And Engler intends a second meaning: "the interdependence of people everywhere whose lives have been caught up in the quest for oil." An interdependence so profound that a State Department official could say that an oil embargo would be "the most total challenge that could be launched...something very close to nuclear warfare."

In this new book, Engler covers the 16 years since his *The Politics of Oil* dissected the symbiotic relationship between industry and government, continuing a long series of studies by other writers since Henry Demarest Lloyd, back in the 1880s in *Wealth against Commonwealth*, first opened to public scrutiny the Standard Oil trust.

Perhaps the chief irony of the present situation involves the nationalization of the Arabian/American Oil Company (Aramco) by the Saudi monarch. The unsophisticated might well have imagined that this was the end of the road on the Arabian deserts for Exxon, Gulf, Texaco and Mobil. Instead, profits shot up after the nationalization. After all, who controlled the capitalist world's markets but the Four Brothers of Aramco? Selling 10¢ oil at \$12 a barrel was a good bargain for the King and his four accomplices. The bookkeeping entries could always be juggled among production, transportation, refining and marketing. So Aramco suffered not at all from "losing" its Arabian oil.

Engler examines all the ways to bell the tiger, from "the case for the bicycle," through windmills, local and regional power developments to TVAs, REAs and cooperatives. He takes a caustic view of nationalization and public ownership, considering the possibility that such could be the road to the corporate state. The British government is the major owner of British Petroleum (ex-Anglo-Persian), one of the Seven Sisters, and retains a veto power over the company's decisions that it has never, in more than half a century, exercised. Social ownership is perhaps a preferable term if it envisages worker-union participation at the bottom, effective consumer influence at all stages and a government truly responsible to the public will.

Back in 1947 the International Cooperative Alliance proposed to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations that a UN Oil Authority take over the administration of the Middle East oil deposits. "The future of the UN itself may well hinge on how Middle East oil problems are approached and handled." "The plan," reported the *New York Times*, "is expected to meet stiff opposition from the American and British petroleum interests..." It did. The cooperators' plan never touched first base and the prediction about the UN's future turned out to be prophetic.

But Engler urges us to keep on trying. Pressures from the local to the federal level should be constant, determined and resourceful, for the main hope lies in a citizenry aroused by unending education and agitation to demand a decent burial for the Seven Sisters.

—Harvey O'Connor

Harvey O'Connor is the author of *The Empire of Oil and World Crisis in Oil*.

Looting among the Looted



Jay Kinney

The American people have created a nigger that they wanted to see. You rob a man of his self-respect, he will do anything.

In the month since the night the lights went out in Greater New York, there has been a spate of comment on the causes of the widespread looting in certain poor areas. Only last week the District Attorney prosecuting those arrested in Brooklyn felt it necessary to release statistics in support of his conclusion that the looters were not "poor and hungry." He announced that 46 percent of those being held for trial had jobs and their average income was \$7000 a year.

IN THESE TIMES presents the following condensation of an unusually interesting discussion of the incident and its significance, by a panel that included a young looter, a black businessman whose store was looted, a local Congressman, and writer James Baldwin. It was aired on Public Television on July 15, 1977, in the regular MacNeil/Lehrer report.

MacNeil: More than 3000 people were arrested Wednesday night and Thursday in the act of pillaging hundreds of large and small businesses in poorer areas of the city.... In many cases the police were powerless to stop the looting because the crowds helping themselves were too large to control... Stretches of whole blocks [were] devastated; windows smashed, steel security shutters torn down; some buildings set on fire....

Lehrer: A N.Y. police official described the looting rampage as the night of the animals. Others say it was more of a night of the oppressed, the have-nots releasing their anger on the haves....

MacNeil: One of the still uncounted vic-

tims of the looting was Syl Williamson, 43-year-old owner of a sporting goods store in Brooklyn.... In a few minutes Wednesday night, he lost \$100,000 worth of stock.

Mr. Williamson, how did it happen, as far as you know?

Williamson: How it happened, I don't know.... I reached my store approximately 25 minutes after the lights went out. There were people in it.

MacNeil: Were you able to save anything?

Williamson: I was able to stop the looting in my store because of the rapport I have with the community in general....

MacNeil: What is the future of your business now?

Williamson: Same as it was when I first started. I started with nothing, so I'll just go back and start again. The only thing I have now is more experience and more friends.

MacNeil: More friends since this happened?

Williamson: Yes. Most people only refer to the looters, but they don't think of the kids that didn't loot, and the kids that stayed with me the rest of the night to help me secure my store and keep other people out. And as soon as it got light enough that we could see, to sweep the garbage out into the street and try to pick up and salvage. No one speaks about that. And those are friends.

MacNeil: How do you feel about it all now?

Williamson: Well, I think all things happen for a reason.... I know what I have to go about and do.

MacNeil: Which is?

Williamson: I have to stay there. It would be a loss to the community if I left. I couldn't let what I've developed within the community in 13 years be wiped out in one night.

MacNeil: Thank you. Among the thousands of people out in the darkened streets of Brooklyn on Wednesday night was this 18-year-old high school graduate. What were you doing when the blackout started?

Boy: At first I was going to see my girlfriend.... I was going up on the elevator. I was lucky I got out before it blacked out. But when I did... everything just went black, you know. First thing that came to my mind, I wanted to go outside where everybody else was at. So that's when I went around to my neighborhood.... and then that's when everybody decided to break into... whatever place they can to get the merchandise.

MacNeil: When you say everybody decided... how did they decide?

Boy: You know, first thing that came to their minds, a way of making some money—they was gonna do it. Any way they can make some money, they was gonna try to do it....

MacNeil: Were people taking basically what they needed or just anything they could get their hands on so they could sell it?

Boy: Well, most of the people that was poor was taking stuff they could use in their homes like couches and beds, televisions, anything they could carry, to replace the other stuff they have in their house.

MacNeil: And what did you do with the stuff you took?

Boy: Oh, I kept it. I sold some.

MacNeil: And how are you feeling about it?

Boy: Now I feel—why did I do it? I be saying to myself, why did I go out there and do that?

MacNeil: And why did you?

Boy: I wanted to do it, go out there and get like everybody else. I thought... I can make some money, have some fun. So I went out and did it.

MacNeil: What kind of a mood was it? Was it a holiday mood... like it was the one night off of the year or something?

Boy: It was like a holiday mood for everybody. For the poor people, you know, it was a holiday. They don't have enough money to buy those things so they figures right now while they got a chance, the lights is off, they're gonna get it.

Lehrer: Not all the public officials on the streets were policemen or firemen. Another who was there was Congressman Herman Badillo, who represents the South Bronx, one of the hardest hit in the looting.... Congressman, what reason would you give for what happened?

Badillo: I think the reason is that people feel that there's not opportunity for them in the city. We do have two societies: there've been warnings about that for some time....

Lehrer: So it didn't surprise you at all?

Badillo: No, because I know that there is that alienation.... There's a lot of hostility and resentment and unfortunately it grows. Because there are more people now in New York City who are poor than there were ten years ago... and more of a feeling of hopelessness....

Lehrer: Congressman, in your opinion, [is] the economic situation in the ghettos... a justification for looting stores and setting them on fire?

Badillo: No, not at all. It's not a justification.... On the other hand, there is really no justification... for having the kind of unemployment that we have in this country, and in the city... a 40-50 percent rate among young people 16 to 25. That's not justified either.

Lehrer: Another view from the well-known author and playwright James Baldwin.... Mr. Baldwin, was it anger that the darkness brought out the other night?

Baldwin: Anger is too simple a word.... It is significant to me that the looting occurred among the looted. One talks in this country about upward mobility, but a person trapped in the ghetto with no

job and no future, in a consumer society which demands every hour, every day he lives that he buy this and buy that—He is not living in South Africa!.... He is not living in a poor country! He is living in the richest country in the world, and living on a level of poverty which is utterly intolerable.

Now, I grew up in that misery, and I do not want... to see my brothers and my children in the streets carrying away television sets and breaking windows and turning into what society has always said they were. But I haven't got a job to give them. Our society has promised us life and liberty and has betrayed that promise. When that happens, the society creates every day endless groups of people who have nothing to lose.... You can't blame those people for taking what has been taken from them....

You have created these people. You've created this misery. And no one in the society has even addressed themselves to it... It is you, the American people, who have put the Puerto Rican and the nigger in the street. It is you who have assured them that they have no future....

In the 52 years I've been on earth, it has gotten worse, and the American people—if I may say so, and I must say so, because I love my country—have become more and more and more cowardly.... They don't know how to say: Let my people go.

Lehrer: I would take it from what both of you have said that you feel what happened is not a unique situation for New York?...

Badillo: There's no question about that. That's why, when we had riots once before, we had them in many different parts of the country as well. And the conditions that existed in 1967, if anything, have worsened since that time.

Lehrer: But it's been pointed out that in the blackout of 1965 there... was not this widespread violence.

Badillo: Well, first of all, the blackout of 1965 was in November, a different time of year altogether. You have to have lived in these tenement houses... to understand that even when the lights are on, people are outside in the streets at 2:00 in the morning.... When the lights go out, people are out by the hundreds and you have very dangerous conditions under the best of circumstances....

Secondly, you have had a promise that has not been fulfilled since then.... We brought in tremendous amounts of money for poverty programs, and instead of using it to rebuild the city, that money was given out to what I call poverticians, who use it for themselves. And so people see that there is money, but that it is not going on a priority basis to providing meaningful jobs....

MacNeil: I think Mr. Williamson has a comment.

Williamson: I wanted to say that in 1965 black people had a little more self-pride that they have been robbed of.... He (the boy) doesn't know why he looted. I say that the media caused him to loot... because the media tells him that: you have no job... there is no future for you.... Or he's been given a no-work job and only collects pay.... That's self-destruction—to pay a person a week for just showing up, signing a sheet. And that's what those summer programs actually end up to be.

Badillo: That's what I meant... about the waste of funds.

Williamson: Those things demoralize a person.

Baldwin: Part of the American tragedy is that the American people have created a nigger that they wanted to see. This man (Mr. Williams) is a very remarkable man and the boy's very remarkable, too. And both of them are saying in another way that they're treated in the society with no respect whatever. Langston Hughes said you treat colored people like second class fools. Now if you do that, and the bill comes in, then you have to pay, you know. You rob a man of his self-respect, he will do anything.

MacNeil: At the risk of seeming very obtuse, let me put a question... Since 1965—a lot of people would argue there have been tremendous advances in opportunities....